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LIFE AND WORK OF JAWAD SABAT,

An Arab Traveller, Writer and Apologist;

Together with a review of his Romantic Career, as a
Christian and Muslim.

فرانست نورِ محمد میلاد کو میغش ساریہ تسلیم رہا ہے

Then I beheld Muhammad's dazzling light,
Flaring like sheets of lightning in the night,
And, though apart, the stranger's means of sight.

BY

MALAWI ABDUL WALI,
Ramn Sahib.

Calcutta and Simla:
THACKER, SPINK & CO.

Rs. 2/4

1925.

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FOREWORD

It is about half a century since, when I was a student in Calcutta, I came in contact with a few elderly people and students who were very much interested in the controversial literature of the time. The books of Maulavis Ali Hasan and Rahmatullah, in refutation of Christianity, and Rev Dr. Pfander's work against Islam were freely consulted. The historic discussion at Agra between Dr. Pfander and Mr French on the side of Christianity, and Maulavi Rahmatullah and Dr. Wazir Khan on behalf of Islam, was the subject of discussion and conversation. The Arabic work of Jawad Sabat an Arab *Savant*, writer and traveller, who had been appreciably quoted by the above Muslim scholars and others, used to be consulted by some of the Arabic students of the time. We were told that Sabat became a convert to Christian faith, then turned again a Muslim, and wrote the above work, namely, "al-Barāhinus Sabatia," or proofs by Sabat against the present day Christian religion. Time has nearly obliterated the memory of those days. The students and scholars, who passionately took part in the discussion as to the truth or otherwise of Islam and Christianity and the literature on the subject, have long since been dead, or scattered, except a small number of zealous workers to be met with here and there.

To me, therefore, it was a pleasant surprise, to read in the annual report of the Asiatic Society of Bengal that a Manuscript volume of Jawad Sabat's Arabic treatises, other than his published work, "The Proofs," referred to above, was discovered and acquired by the Society. This at once reminded me of the mention of several books, which Jawad Sabat had, written in Arabic, Persian and Hindi, in his printed work "al-Barāhin." I searched for the latter work but without success. The Muhammadan families of Bengal and other parts of Hindustan have nearly given up the study of the literature and science of their fore-fathers, and, in many cases, the valuable Arabic and

Persian manuscripts and books which their forefathers had written or collected, have been either worm-eaten, destroyed by fire, water and dust, or looted and sold.

It was therefore to me a source of great pleasure and comfort to find subsequently a copy of Sabat's book in a place least expected. I perused the Asiatic Society's newly acquired volume as well as Jawad's printed work, "the Sabatian Proofs." Then I encountered another difficulty. Jawad came from al-Jazira, or the south-eastern part of Arabian Peninsula, which includes Basrah, Baghdad, and Hullan. He used extensively, in the translation of the New Testament as well as in his other compositions, the modern or colloquial language of the Arabs, except when he wrote Arabic verses and arguments in refutation of the Christian faith. I studied his al-Barahin and consulted one or two Arabic scholars, whom I found quite innocent of the Arabic as it is written and spoken now, with a large admixture of foreign and hybrid words. The difficulty was overcome to a certain extent, in this way: I consulted modern Arabic lexicons, and referred my other difficulties to Arabicists. The refutations have been written in classical Arabic but when the author explains his own peculiar situation amidst a hostile camp of his own people, and other Muslim Nakhodas and merchants of Calcutta, the language, used is vulgar and obscure. His expressions are often vague, wanting in precision. He often slurs over facts and circumstances, well-known to people of his time and place, but cannot now be fully grasped or explained.

Amidst this unlooked-for difficulties, lukewarm support, and co-operation of Indian scholars, I hope the present review of the Arab traveller and savant's efforts to vindicate Islam and refute the corrupted religion of once-Divine Christianity will be taken as an attempt to introduce the work to the Islamic public, and those who care for the truth and the science of religion.

My purpose in writing this review is not to trace, step by step, the history and development of Christianity generally, or in India specially. I may only mention that it was not till the tenth century that Christianity made any effectual impression in Eastern and Northern States of Europe. The

maritime discoveries of the Portuguese towards the close of the fifteenth century, writes Rev. Hugh Pearson, in his "Sketch of the History of Christianity in India, Introductory to the life and correspondence of Rev. Christian Swartz," were the means of propagating Christianity. The Portuguese, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, first established themselves on the coast of Malarbar. They found there a community of native Christians who welcomed them. These were the Syrian, or as they are called St. Thomé Christians, whose tradition represents them as descended from the converts of the apostle St. Thomas in India during the first century. The St. Thomas Christians, tainted with Nestorian heresy, were entirely ignorant of the Western apostasy, knew nothing of Pope, worship of Virgin Mary, of Transubstantiation, Purgatory or of peculiar errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome. The Romish clergy, specially the Jesuits, followed the Portuguese. After long series of struggles, Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, persuaded the Syro-Malabaric Churches to submit to Romish jurisdiction. About sixty years later (1659), the conquest of Cochin by the Dutch and the expulsion of the Portuguese from a greater part of Malabar afforded them opportunity of shaking off the Romish Yoke.

The Armenian Christians were found in every part of India. They were traders and their number was small. The zeal of the Portuguese Clergy and various missionaries of the Roman Church, such as Francis Xavier, holds most distinguished place in converting thousands of the natives of India. They used, says Pearson, anti-Christian and unworthy methods. To this may be referred the case of Robert di Nobili, Chief of Jesuit College at Madura.

The arrival of the Protestant Missionaries to India need not detain me long. The year, says John Willam Kaye, in his "Christianity in India" (1859), which saw the Syrian Churches of Malabar fall before the tyranny of Menezes (1599), a party of British merchants, traders and other capitalists determined to come to India, and the "East India Company" was inaugurated. The Hollander and the Dane preceded the Englishman in the field of Missionary enterprise. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century Schwartz, Gerekè and Kahloff were labouring in

Southern India. The other member of Tranquebar mission, John Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary in Bengal, came at the invitation of Clive, and was performing his calling in Calcutta. David Brown wrote in 1805 that the ministration of some pious clergymen and the practical encouragement of Lord Cornwallis fostered Christianity in Bengal. The Marquis of Wellesley openly patronised religion. The Governor-General considered it his sacred duty and resolved that the Christian religion was the religion of State.

At this period there were in Bengal the Memorable "Five Chaplains"—David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie Thomas Thomason, besides the Baptist missionaries, William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward of Serampore, who laboured for the Protestant Church in India and without their co-operation, says Canton, the British and foreign Bible Society could not have been inaugurated in Calcutta and "little could have been achieved by the Society in the vast region of heathenism." Various delays and discouragements, says Canton, intervened between the despatch of this communication and the actual formation of the corresponding committee. "You will justly wonder," wrote David Brown in September 1806, "Why we have been so slow in replying to your letter inviting us to co-operate with you. I answer in one word: "We have lost Lord Wellesley, the friend of religion, and the patron of learning; and succeeding Governors have opposed to all attempts to evangelise the Hindus; have opposed the translation of the holy Scriptures, have opposed the formation of a Society for carrying into effect here the object of your invaluable institution. Persons holding official situations were requested not to act, except in their private capacity. We have therefore been obliged to commit the work for the present to the Society of Missionaries at Serampore, and afford them such aid and protection as we can give without offending Government."

It was during this transitory time that a young Arab scholar and traveller—Jawad Sabat—came to India and became a convert to Christianity, joining the Church of England, under the name of Nathaniel Sabat. He translated the New Testament in the modern dialect of Arabia, and also

in Persian, and assisted Rev. Henry Martyn and Mirza Fitrat in the Urdu translation of the same. After several years, Nathaniel Sabat renounced Christianity, adopted again Islam and published his book, "The Sabatian Proofs in support of Islam," and left Calcutta at the end of 1814 A.D. .

The following is a review of Sabat's work together with an account of his life and time, prepared from materials gleaned from his writings, as well as from Missionary and other sources. It consists of three parts, and appendices and notes, *viz.*—

البراهين الساباطية فيما تستقيم به دعائم الْمَلَةِ الْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ وَ تنهى عن به أسلانِ الشريعة المنسوخة العيساوية *

[The Sabatian proofs which support the pillars of Muhammadan religion, and subvert the columns of the abrogated Christian faith |

| **Part II.** من لا يحضره النديم.

[What is indispensable to the courtier], consisting of 13 books on various subjects.

Part III. Life and Work of Jawad Sabat.

Appendices and Notes.

In writing this Review I had to consult several books and seek advice of various persons. My acknowledgments are due to Maulavi Muhammad Husayn, Arabic Professor, Calcutta Madrasah, and to Haji Mu'inuddin, search Maulavi, Asiatic Society of Bengal, for their courtesy in discussing with me a few of Sabat's archaic expressions and incomplete sentences. I am obliged to Rev. Mr. A. W. Young, Secretary, Calcutta Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for finding out for me references about Nathaniel Sabat in the books and reports in his possession, and allowing me to copy extracts therefrom, and to Rev. S. Pearce Carey, Baptist Minister, Isle of Wight, for further references on the subject.

ABDUL WALI.

CALCUTTA,
December, 28th, 1924.

PART I

Al-Barāhīnu's-Sābātia fīmā tastaqīmu bihī d'aā'imi! millat'il Muhammadiya u tatahaddamu bihī asātinish-Shariyatīl-Mansukhatīl-'Isaviya ; or, "The Sabatian Proofs which support the pillars of Muhammadan religion, and subvert the columns of the abrogated Christian faith."

The following is a review of Jawad Sabat's above printed and apparently his last work. The book is in Arabic, of octavo size, printed in Calcutta, by the author, in his private press (Sābāti Press) at the end of Zil Hijja 1229H (1814 A.D.) with the assistance of Shaykh Ghulam Husayn ibn Shaykh Ghulam Nabi al Muhaṣiri, inhabitant of Qasba Duqsi, and the superintendence of Ahmad ibn Mahmud al Mazraul-lbadi. The title occupies a full page, in which the author gives briefly the gist of the book. The next two leaves are a prefatory note consisting of the title, and full name, of the author. The above three leaves are written on one side of the paper. The full name of the writer, as noted by him in the prefatory note, was Jawād Sābāt ibn Ibrāhīm Sābāt Basifin al Hasani جواد سبط بن ابراهيم سبط با سيفين الحسني. The book was printed, says the author, in 5574 of the Mosaic era, 1814 of the Christian era, and 1229 of the Muhammadan era, during the rule of Mahmūd ibn Abdul Hamid of the House of Usman, in Roum, (Turkey); As'ad Pasha, son of Sulayman Pasha, at al-Jazira ; Sa'ud ibn 'Abd'ul 'Aziz Tamimi, at Najd; Fath 'Ali ibn Husayn Quli Qachar, in Persia; Ahmad ibn Ali ibn'ul 'Abbas al Hasani, at Yaman; Sa'id ibn Sultan al-'Azadi, at 'Amman; Muhammad ibn 'Ali Al Nami al-Husayni, at Algharb (North-West of Africa); Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Khalas al-Umari, at Abyssinia; Napoleon Bonaparte, in France; Alexander the First, in Russia; George the Third, in Britain; and the accursed Satan, in the heart of the hypocrite. The author published 600 copies of the book with his own money, which he had amassed with the help of his right arm, and the sweat of his brow, all of

which he bequeathed, 'may God forgive his sins' for the sake of Allah and His Prophet. The book, he enjoins, should not be sold or bought; no one should be prevented from copying or perusing the same. Of the copies printed, the author intended its free distribution, as follows, 'May the Giver of Wisdom accept the same of him':—.

For the people of Mecca, Medina, Hejaz, and Najd 100 copies.

Do.	Yaman	..	..	50	"
Do.	Amman	..	..	50	"
Do.	al-Jazira, <i>i.e.</i> , Basra, Baghdad. Hulla, the Mashhads and their surroundings	..	..	100	"
Do.	Iran and Māwarāun-Nahr (Transaxonia)	..	..	100	"
Do.	Islamboul and its neighbour- hood (Turkey in Europe)	..	..	50	"
Do.	India	..	..	100	"
				550	copies

The author spared no pains to make the book acceptable to the reader. He spent in its preparation his life-time. If he had to speak ill of some of his contemporaries, his only excuse was that he had suffered on account of some of their ill-will, deception and trickery. He apologises for the typographical errors, as he printed the book secretly, out of the fear of the Georgian, who endeavoured his best to extinguish the light of truth.

The next page contains the contents of the book, which will be noted as I proceed on.

INTRODUCTION.

The introduction, which Jawad Sabat divides into three parts, extends from pages 1 to 17. In a work of this nature, the reader expects that no foreign matter repugnant to the context or subject, should be introduced, or if it be necessary to do so, it should be relegated at the end of the book. He not only mentions what is necessary, but also dilates on various extraneous matters. Although, some of the incidents noted might have been left out, they are pecu-

liarly interesting to us, as they give us a side-light on the social, moral and intellectual decadence of the Muslims of India, specially of Calcutta, a century ago.

The introduction begins with a *hamd-o-n'at*, or the praise of God and His prophet, Muhammad, on whom as well as his family-members, companions and others be God's blessings. After this, says the author, Kasirul-inzihad (full of anguish), Jawad Sabat ibn Ibrahim Sabat Basifin (this is quoted in the first person in his own words): It may not be unintelligible to the reader of this volume, that in my early youth, I had been an ardently thoughtful and gifted observer. I studied the principles of the Muhammadan creed and the dogma of the Hanafi School. After acquiring what education was proper for the sons of noblemen, residing in cities as well as in deserts, I undertook an extensive travel, throughout the length and breadth of the earth. I saw that the Muslims of all the climes had adopted peculiar creeds and dogmas, and tried their best to accuse as infidels, those who had adopted another view of what was against their judgment. This has been carried to such a length, that the Ulama of Mawaraun-Nahr consider the Shias as guilty of apostasy, and their women fit for slavery, and in their opinion, it is lawful to shed their blood. The Ulama of the Shias (on the other hand) think all the people of Islam, who are not of their view (in religious matters), as unbelievers and deem it lawful to kill their family and plunder their property. The Ibaza and the Zayud and others are busy, each in condemning to apostasy the believers of the opposite school. But none of them deems worth his while to restore what the Christians have broken off, or try to fill up what they have demolished. He does not think of rectifying the mischief these Christians commit as to their faith, or stopping the breach they have made. And during my itinerary in India, I saw a large number of the Ulama of the place, busy with what was beside their duty. They were in pursuit of what would neither impoverish nor enrich them! Similar was the case of the Ulama of Najd, of the Haramayn (Mecca and Medina), of al-Jazira, of Persia, of Egypt and of Yaman—some were busy with education and instruction, some on deceit and imposture, some in the employ of Sultans and Umara, some

in torturing Sufis and Faqirs, some in the pursuit of honour and commahd, some in compiling books on Law and administration ; some after solving the riddle of Mash-shayin and Ishraqyin, some standing on tip-toe for philanthropic works, some living in secluded cells for the adoration of God, some in placarding the flag of disciple-and-spiritual-guide.

I saw (also) that the British among the Christians had taken complete possession of the Indian Empire, and spread therein the carpet of Justice, such as one would wish. They treated high and low, native and foreigner, healthy and infirm, equally, without any notice as to their creed or religious belief. Of them, the ecclesiastics, who were very bigoted persuaded the Muslims, and men of other persuasions, to renounce the true faith of Islam and to adopt the abrogated religion of Jesus. Some of them had formed themselves into a congregation, in which most of the British assemble, and called it "The British and Foreign Bible Society." With the fund, which these Britons collect by contributing annually something towards its upkeep, they send Missioners, all over the world—India, Abyssinia, China, Turkey, Persia and other places. It is for this reason that these Christians have become powerful, so much so that, of the people of Malabar, Madras and Bengal, Brahmans and idolators, about one hundred thousand families, and of Musalmans, about ten thousand families, have apostatised (or, been converted into Christianity). So I knew that if we left them to penetrate deeply into water, sporting ; and in the sea of ignorance, swimming, the result would be calamitous ; and the cure of any accident, after it had occurred, would be well nigh impossible. When I came to know that the religious belief of the English (Church) was stronger than that of all other Christian Churches, *viz.*, the Catholics, Armenians, Syrians, Georgians, Greeks, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, Scottish, Chaldaeans, and others, I repaired to one of their headmen, and turned myself to him, as one of his retinue, and did not cease serving him, with flattering attention till he tried and obtained for me the post of Qadi of Ishaqfatan (Vizagapatam), one of the towns of India, on the sea coast.

After this I devoted myself to the study of their language (English), till I acquired a little of their idiom, to enable

me to understand their Holy Book. Next I expressed my desire to renounce the true faith (Islam), and my inclination towards the religion of Messiah (Christianity). I went to Madras in 1215 (1800 A.D.) and requested to render the translation of the Holy Testament, specially the New Testament anew in the pure dialogue of the Arabs. During my occupation in this work, never did I lose sight of my real intention and the accomplishment of my highest purpose (that is, the writing of this book on the refutation of Christianity). I was in this state, till the year of Gharkah (or 1225H = 1810 A.D.), when in this year came to Bengal a Jurji (Georgian) young man, named Ahmad bin Muhammad Taqi-ash-Shirwani. He was an ignorant lad, having no pretension to any particular branch of scholarship, save that he was born, at the port of Hudayda, of the daughter of Haydar ad Dallal-uj-Jurji (Haydar the broker of Georgia); served the Nakhodas, taught them Nabathean dialect, and the reading of the poetry, according to the manner of the common folk, who resembled the herd of cattle or worse than that. He sought my help, so I took him to certain Francks (Europeans), who appointed him, and later had him employed among their servants on a monthly stipend of Rupees one hundred in order to write for them the folktales and give them instruction in Nabathæan Arabic. He (the Georgian, Ahmad Shirwani) used to come often to me, as will be seen from the collection of Sabatian letters (Murasalatus-Sabatia). When he came to know of my religious views (that I was at heart a Muslim), he went to the principal ecclesiastic, Brown (David Brown), and informed him thereof, and impressed the Christian Society easily. He expressed to the common Muslims against what I believed, and published for them in 1225H (1810 A.D.) in the vulgar dialect, a book, and stated that I had turned away from the true faith (Islam) and that I had set to this work, through hypocrisy and flattery. I would not have alluded to this matter, but for his sycophancy and deceit. He published the book, no sooner than he came to know of my newly formed intention, so that he might put a stop to my project, so curse be on him. In spite of this he used to come to me, to get my help.

The author after this mentions the story of a servant of

his, Sālih, whom he advised not to become a Christian, but the aforesaid Ahmad Shirwani, the Georgian, brought the matter to the notice of the authorities of the Anglican Mission, and made a common cause with certain Arab and Mughul merchants of Calcutta, leading to the discomfiture of Sabat, which compelled the latter to quit his work and run away from Calcutta. This story, Jawad Sabat narrates in a fragmentary way; and mentions also in a disjoined manner the unpatriotic, irreligious and reprehensible conduct of his fellow-countrymen and co-religionists, at the instance of his most implacable enemy, Georgian Ahmad. Here is the pathetic tale of persecution of a young Arab, who had none of his own people to befriend him, in his difficulties. On the other hand the missionaries became prejudiced against him, and doubted the sincerity of his profession of their religion also through the enmity of the Georgian and his fellow supporters. Let me proceed with the story, in the manner, Sabat wants to tell it :

I had in my employ a corrupt Indian servant, named Sālih. He came to me one day and said that he wished to become a Christian I dissuaded him. He went to the aforesaid Georgian. He was moved by his zeal of ignorance, in order to back his original faith (?). Ahmad went with the servant to some of the licentious Musalmans and told them that he saw a serious defect in Ibn Sabat which was very dangerous for all Muslims—Sunnis and Shias—that inhabit the Indian Empire. As the religious enmity is a serious thing, so let them go and try to make the servant a Christian, and to make public to the Christians the real truth of my being a Muslim (at heart) and ruin my project. They made a firm compact with him, and determined to fully help him. I went to them, and narrated my story. I said : I am a holy warrior for the victory of the true religion, and you should not do harm to my work, and help him, to break my back. They replied : O Ibn Sabat, you are a Badavi (Beduin), you have nothing to do and nothing to lose (that is, no stake in anything), whereas we are possessors of land and wealth, servant and family, houses and cattle, cultivation and trade. So we are unable to help you in this your object. We cannot help you and oppose the authorities. None of us can knock at the door, as if with an accountant's staff.

Continuing they said: that there are many, well-known persons and well-qualified heroes, who are better qualified for this work. Let it be granted that if the Christians were the lords of the country, bent upon to extinguish the light of Islam from al-Jazirah to Quasim, rob the Muslims of their honour and divine law, demolish the bases of Mecca and Medina, inflict on them captivity, massacre, tyranny and hostility, and do with the sepulchre of Muhammad (peace on him), what did Nādir Shah with the tomb of an-Nūmān (Imam Abu Hanifa), will your (projected) work, in any way counteract the same, or will they abstain from their design by the publication of your book? So we cannot assist you, rather we will go against you. In fact all of them went against me. *They desire to extinguish the light of God with their mouths, but God willeth no other than to perfect to His light, although the unbelievers be averse thereto.*

Let it be known that those Arabs and Persians, who come to India, specially to Bengal, are profligates in the garb of traders, wolves in the shape of dogs—not saying *namaz* or giving alms, not disliking those whom God and His Messenger dislike. They do not follow the true religious doctrines. Verily they are immorals. There is naught in their words and deeds, which might be ascribed to the name of Islam. Nay, one and all of them are immoral and dissolute, transgressors and dealers in intoxicants. They indulge in tambourine, drums, harps, live on usury, torment Muhammad (may God's peace be on Him), through (abusing) his fellow-men. They import Muslim slaves, sell them to the Jews, Christians, and idolators. How many of them sell Arab female slaves, whose Islam is proved and who bear eloquent evidence to the unity of God, to vile Nazarens or bastard Jews. These are seen with weeping eyes and violently-boxed cheeks. There is many and many a high class virgin or Hashemite who read the Quran, say prayer five times, fast in Ramadan and know religious ordinances and theology, who is led, while being scourged, to uncircumcised idolators (Christians) or talkative Jews. They doff her screen, raise her veil, invite her to disgrace and ruin, and to the greatest event. She implores but is not heeded, she defends her honour and chastity, but is not defended.

Now the hand of the slave-trader pulls her ear-ring, now the buyer's palm passes over her cheek and nose. She bewails and exclaims by Hāshim and Luyay, Ghālib and Qusay. Is there no Mumin, no Muslim, among you, none whose revered forefathers are also mine ! Where is the Muslim, the mentally-cultured, the Arab patriotism ! Where is the religious, where the magnanimity of the Hashimite ! Have you no wives ! no mothers ! no daughters ! no sons ! have you in you no humanity and sincerity ! Then falls upon her the scourge, one after another, and the tightening of the fetters. Besides these, there is many an Abyssinian, Ethiopian or Nubian slave girl who is Muslim, whom they sell or present to idolators, who Christianise or Judaise her. She pronounces Muslim creed. Who has legalised the sale of a Muslim to an idolator, and profligate ? There are also many pious slaves—Abyssinian, Nubian, or Negro—whose Islam is beyond any doubt and who are eloquent in speech, whom they bring up for a long time and then sell to non-Muslims on high price ; they sue for protection, but are not protected. There are a few among them who can read the Quran clearly, and the books on Tradition and Law correctly. Some of these merchants or their couriers go to Mecca, Jeddah or Hudayda, from whom the Georgian purchases slaves for Thomason, Brown or Edminster. A morning draught ! and may God save us from (our providing) sport or children, or making them grow savage.

These traders export good horses from al-Jazira, Amman, Yaman or Kan'ān, which become the riding beasts for the polytheists, and (eventually) an aid to them to fight the Muslims. They break many divine laws, demolish the wall of Islam, pull down the stronghold of truth, erect towers of tyranny, and the rightful owner is ousted, money is squandered improperly, and jars of wine in the sacred months are splashed (?) publicly. The Islamic ceremonies are violated and the rules of conduct prescribed by Muhammad (peace on him) are infringed. I am unable to enumerate one-tenth of the irregularities they commit, and how they abuse the Khalifas of Islam in this land. It will suffice to say what the accursed Georgian said in a meeting in 1228H (1813 A.D.) to the principal Nakhoda : The Zaydiya Imāms can neither rightly guide, nor be guided, and the meanest Briton is better

than Mansur Ali bin Abbas, both in action and generally in wisdom.

In 1224H (1809 A.D.) an elderly man among them who used to teach them sorcery, claimed that he could bring Said Ibn Sultan Azadi from 'Amman to Bengal, humble him, and corrupt his condition. All of them believed him.

In 1226H (1811 A.D.) their leading scholar (? Georgian)—in support of one, who was speaking ill of a certain King whose action he reproached and whose sincerity of purpose he impugned, and gave the Francks preference to him,—said, “By God, the head of the Calcutta market, Martyn, is better and juster than so-and-so. Would to God the Francks were our country’s masters, so that we might escape from his tyranny.”

The priest, Sebastian, waxed eloquent in abusing the King of Persia, Baba Khan Qachar, and in taunting Shaykh Jā’far al-Jazairī in 1226H (1811 A.D.). A large number of Persians believed in his words and agreed to what he said, except a man of Hadramaut, in spite of his low origin and humble position. This man believed in God, did not hesitate to tell the truth, though he himself was guilty of certain irregularities hinted before, and that he mixed up the lawful money with unlawful. There was another man Azadī, simple and virtuous; also another person, Ali bin Aqasi of Tehran, an Asuli Shia, who was in my work at once a companion, assistant, scribe, refuge, protector, defender and helper. When my people tyrannised over me, it was he who visited me in the soundless night, and assisted me in the accomplishment of this my work. He would defend me from the defamation of the profligate and the jeer of the hypocrite. Would to God, Who opens the corn and finds respiration, if all the Shias were, like him well-balanced, and had drunk of the spring of intelligence as he had, they would have been pious and beneficent Mumins. Otherwise all are irreligious and fit for hell-fire. One of the tricks of these traders is that two of them import young slaves, sell them to the Jews, and from the latter, the Christians buy them again.

One of the traders sold in 1224H (1809 A.D.) his naturalised Abyssinian slave to Yahya, the Jew, and Yahya sold

him to John Palmer, a Briton, whom he dressed in *Kabus* (Europeanised 'hard' dress). A religious man told him what he had done! He replied that the slave's Islam was not proved, so he returned him to his original place.

In 1225H (1810 A.D.) the above mentioned Jurji sold twenty-five (Arabic) books, including the *Mishkāt* and the *Qāmus* to Lumsden. A chief merchant bought from the helm-man of his boat an eastern slave-girl in 1225H and sold her to Yahya, the Jew, who Judaised her. She bore him two children. The tall captain of theirs presented two Arab slave-girls, through the above Jurji, to certain Francks. One of their pious men sold his slave-girl, or as it is said, the slave-mother of his child to Mr. Higgin in 1227H (1812 A.D.). All of them are guilty of the crime. In 1228H (1813 A.D.) the accursed Georgian's brother brought three slave-girls, viz., an Eastern, an Abyssinian and a *Mihdīya*. The two former were sold to Mr. Higgin, the Copyist, and the *Mihdīya* was presented to Mr. Kiyarus (?), the liar.

On the 15th *Sha'bān* of this year I was sitting with Thomason for the purpose of translation. He had with him an Indian employé, by the name of Wahiduddin who used to read the Quran to him (Thomason), instead of Jurji, and help him in exposing the secrets of Musalmans. Wahiduddin came with a note on which was written a verse in praise of the chief of the Prophets, on whom be God's blessings. Mr. Thomason addressing me said, "O Ibn-Sabat, won't you read it to me." I replied, that I cannot decipher well this handwriting. He threw away the note on the ground and put his foot on it, and was looking into it. When the Hindi (Wahiduddin) returned, Thomason ordered him to read it. He sat behind, and saw that Thomason's foot was on it. I said to Thomason to take away his foot from over the note as Wahiduddin felt it very painful (as an insult). He replied, "be quiet" and remained as before. Wahiduddin went away and told the tale to the Georgian. Both of them spoke of the matter to the great scholar. One who knew the real fact said that such and such was the case. He said, no, but it was Jawad Sabat who put his foot on the writing.

Another most striking example of this nature is the story

of one Abdul Fattah (son of Shaykh Zain, son of Shaykh Abdul Khaliq) Mazjaji as Zubaydi. To be brief, a certain (Muslim) trader had a pious black slave aged 14, who used to pray five times daily, and pass his days in reciting God's name, whom the trader wanted to sell to a certain Nazarene. The young slave ran away from him and took shelter with (the above) Abdul Fattah, exclaiming all the time: My hand and your skirt (will be tied) on the day of reckoning, do free me from apostasy. So the boy was received hospitably and kept concealed in his house. When the slave trader (buyer) came to know of this, he sent his men with the unscrupulous trader (seller), Abdul Fattah, who was with me, left my house at about midnight, but returned immediately and said to me, in reply, that those two tyrants (the new and old masters of the slave) despatched their servants to his lodging, broke it open, entered it, and carried away the pious slave, Firoz (for that was his name) and had him locked-up with the Francks, and chastised him severely. I went out with him to their houses, but none of them responded to our call. On day-break, Abdul Fattah went and told them that they had verily dishonoured his house, and infringed his credit. "Give him to-day to me, I will return him to-morrow to you." They complied with his request. He took him (the slave) and went away by another route. When they came to know of it, they caused the troopers (apparently, Police constables) of the accursed chief of the market, to pursue him, and gave out that he was a thief. The troopers had order to take him to custody. When the troopers were returning with the slave, he adopted another subterfuge, and had the slave thrust into my house, and commenced searching for me. When we met, they explained the matter to me. As soon as I heard of it, I left my current duties and accompanied Abdul Fattah. I had not yet reached my house, when they attacked my house and arrested the good slave. I came home greatly dejected. I put down the above story in writing, and entrusted it to Abdul Fattah, who went with it to the Criminal Court. There the good slave, and the crafty slave-trader confronted each other. The former got victory and the latter was discomfitted. It is most strange that the Francks disallow the traders to fetch slaves, but to no purpose. They scold them,

but they are not scolded. As I write these lines, both Abdul Fattah and the good slave, Firoz, are staying in my house.

Let me now turn to the story to which I alluded before, and from which I digressed. The aforesaid Georgian went to the Francks with others in a body and represented that my corrupt servant was really inclined towards Christianity. This was done, while I kept up an assiduous silence. Later, on his apostasy, I expelled the servant from my service. He and the Georgian and the ungodly traders jointly represented to the Francks against what I believed, and went so far as to suborn false evidence. I was summoned to the Court of the Francks for man-slaughter and living a dissolute life. The matter grew serious, and filled the cup (of my sorrow) to overflowing. I gave up the post I held and petitioned truly to what I had resolved upon. I sailed with Khalfan ibn Said al Azadi, of whom I have mentioned previously, in 1227H (1812 A.D.) towards the coast of Arabia.

When the ship left Bengal, there arose between me and Khalfan differences, on account of which my mind was greatly disturbed. I left him at Tellicherry, a town on the coast of the Indian Ocean and remained expectant of another ship. And I determined that after my arrival at my destination, I would commence once more what I had set my heart upon. One night as I was in company of my co-lodgers (at Tellicherry) and was thinking of sailing, I heard that some one was calling me : O, Jawad Sabat. I replied : Yes, and opened the door and came out, but did not see anyone. I remained bewildered. When in that state, the voice said a second time : O Jawad Sabat, do not think of going home and of rest; you cannot go there, so long as you do not fulfil your wish. I believed it was a voice from heaven. I then bethought of returning to Bengal. As the translation of the New Testament, which I was engaged in for them (Missionaries) was not finished, I expressed to them my desire to complete the same. I was asked to come, and I returned to Calcutta and commenced to carry out this most important work, and to draft this precious volume.

I have prepared this book in one *Mir'at*, three *Tabsiras* and

one *Manzar*, and named it Al-Barahinus *Sabatia*, etc. (as noted before). It is written for the good of my soul in the day of judgment.

The above is followed by a poem of 83 couplets in praise of the Prophet in which the poet (*Sabat*) mentions some of his shortcomings, a pathetic and succinct history of his conversion, and the persecutions he had undergone. A few lines thereof are quoted below :—

قد جاء شافعكم و مولي حمدكم
يا فارا قليطاء من و طأ الثرى
يا احمد المختار يا من نوره
صارمت هجرا و القصيم و لم ازل
وبذلت في اظهار سودك القوى
حتى اذا ما الكفر اضرم نارة
اقسمت المطران انى مؤمن
ثم انصرفت الى الكنيسه عاكفا
و قرأت اسفار اليهود ما سوها
فا قامنى فيها القسوس نموذجا
فأخذت آتلوا كتبهم متو غلا
فرايت نور محمد متألا لا
و بنو العرج يبيتون و قصدتهم
ارجو بها يا جد صفحك و الرضا
وعليك صل الله ما بزغت ذكا

برأ رأوفاً ليس بالمتوجه ضم
و حمى العمى و موعد المتدهكم
عُم الانام من الزمان الاقدم
هدف الهلاك بسبب و غطّطم
و صرفت عمري في الجهاد الاعظم
و اقام نائرة اللعين الا زنم
بالجاثيلق و قلت لست بمسلم
فيها و دken عقیدتى لم يهدم
و ركبـت دين بن البتولة مرميـم
لهم و للانجـيل خـير مـترجم
فيها النـهـار و كل لـيل طـرسـم
كـو مـيـض سـاريـة تـسيـر باـ بهـم
ان يـظـفـروا مـنـي باـدنـي مـلـزمـم
و الفـوزـيـ دـارـالـنـعـيمـ الـانـعـمـ
او دـلـ المـزـ صـورـ منـ مـتـرـنـمـ

Translation.

Verily your Intercessor and Lord (worthy) of praise hath come, beneficent, compassionate, and never behaving proudly.

O Paraclete, who hath trod upon the earth, you have guarded well the sanctuary, and are an educator of the decrepit women.

O Ahmad the elect, O, whose light comprises all mankind from the olden times.

I penetrated into Hajar and Qasim and had been ever the target of annihilation on account of vast desert and high sea.

I took pains in publishing your vigorous dominion, and passed my life in the greatest struggle.

Until unbelief suffered from its fire, and rose up the flame (hostility) of the bastard cursed-one.

I swore by the Metropolitan that I believed in Christian priest, and said that I was not a Muslim.

I then went to the Christian Church and attended it with zeal, but never was the foundation of my belief demolished.

I read the scripture of the Jews fully, and embarked upon the religion of the son of virgin Mary.

Their priests made of me an example for them, and a model translator of the Gospel.

Next I began to deeply study their books in the day and during all the dark night.

Then I beheld the light of Muhammad glittering, like the column of thundering, voyaging apart, with a stranger.

And the son of Jurj (the Georgian) watched (me) at night, with the desire to triumph over me on some trifling compulsion.

I implore, O grandsire, your pardon and your favour and success in the more pleasant abode of bliss.

And upon you be Lord's mercy, so long as the sun may shine, and the chant may issue from the musician.

This learned poem being concluded, the author adds 9 more couplets on the same strain in encomium of As'ad Pasha, son of Sulayman Pasha, the Minister (Vazir), on

behalf of Turkey, at Baghdad. The poem was composed in Calcutta on the 10th Zil Hijja 1228H (1813).

The author completes his long Introduction on page 17, which has very little connection to the real purpose for which he wrote this work except the first three pages. The Mirat or Mirror (pp. 17—21) on the preliminary remarks and the names of the Holy Books of the Christians, consisting of the Old and New Testaments is the real Prolegomena to Sabat's work. The refutation of Christianity really commences from this preliminary chapter. He quotes Biblical verses in the language of Britain (English), but in Arabic character, and translates them in Arabic. He says he does not quote from Hebrew, as his real dispute is with the Christians.

The first *Tabsira* or chapter is divided into two *bahses* or disputation. In the first disputation (pp. 21—39) the author refutes the foundation of Christianity, *viz.*, the profession of their faith. In the second disputation (pp. 39—102) he refutes the articles of Christian creed. In the former, the words as believed by Catholics, Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, English, Quakers, Baptists and Methodists are selected for refutation. In the latter (Chapter I, disputation second) the author refutes the xxxix articles of the creed of the Church of England, and mentions those of the Catholic Church. He quotes from the English translation of the Book of prayer rendered by order of King James I. in 1603 A.D.

The second *Tabsira* or Chapter is on refutation of the Divinity of Messiah, the Jesus, son of Miriam (Mary), and on the proof of his prophethood. This chapter, like the previous one, is divided into two disputation. The first disputation (pp. 102—115) is on the refutation of his divinity. The second disputation, on the prophethood of the Messiah, is again sub-divided into two *Maqalas* or sections, *viz.*,

- (1) On the proof of his prophethood (pp. 125—130); and
- (2) in refutation of the arguments of the Jews against it (pp. 130—133).

The third *Tabsira* or chapter is on the proof of the

prophethood of Muhammad, May God's blessings be on him, and on the refutation of the arguments of the Jews and Christians, against it. This Chapter is divided into three Maqalas or sections, *viz.*,

(1) On refutation of the arguments of the Jews and Christians against his Prophethood, may God's blessings be on him (pp. 134—140).

(2) On the proof of his Prophethood (pp. 140—187), and

(3) That which concerns him and his progenies (pp. 187—212). In the third section Sabat adds arguments *re* Mecca, may God sanctify it.

Here at p. 212, the author practically finishes his work on the refutation of arguments advanced by the Jews and Christians, and adds a Manzara or watch-tower or belvedere, regarding himself, may God pardon him. It consists of six Mauqafs or stations.

The first station (pp. 212-213). In this the author states his own religious convictions. These are in accordance with Sunni Creed of Muslims.

The second station (pp. 213-214) on 'Ibadat (adoration of God), or observation of Islamic prayer, e.g., invocation or adoration of God (Salawat), fasting (Saum) of Ramadan, pilgrimage (hajj) and alms (Zakat). The author's belief on these is in accordance with the school of an-Numan (Imam Abu Hanifa).

The third station (pp. 214—221) on the life, pedigree, and family history of the author. This part of the work is most interesting, as it affords a glimpse into the life and career of Jawad Sabat. He copies this from his other unpublished work entitled *Sarasarus Sabatia fima Yataqash-Shau bihi ghamam'il-Jahiliya*. As to his pedigree he quotes from (I) *al-Izhār*, which his father, Ibrahim Sabat, had written after researches, and (II) *Manaqibū'l-Qādiriya*, written by Abdullah Sabat on the life of Abdul Qadir Jilani, the Qutb of his time—from the author's time upwards to that of the Qutb, and also the pedigree of his mother up to the time of Imām Jafar as Sādiq, may God be pleased with him, who was the Imam of his age.

Jawad Sabat gives his father's and mother's genealogical trees in two opposite columns (pp. 215-216). His father was Ibrahim Sabat, son of Muhammad Sabat. His mother, an Alavia, was Shahrban, daughter of Raisul-Hukama (Chief physician), Sayyad Muhammad, and grand-daughter of Sayyad Husayn. The author's pedigree, on his father's side, goes back to Imam Husayn, both sons of Imam Ali. The family titles of Sābāt and Bāsifīn, were, I see, first borne by his ancestor, Ahmad, who was eighth in ascending descent from Jawad. The family was descended from the holy Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jilani, through his son Shaykh Abdur Razzaq.

His ancestor, Sharaful-Islam, quitted al-Jazira in the year 799H (1396 A.D.) and went to the district of al-Jabal (Nahiayatul-Jabal), married there, flourished and died there in 840H (1436 A.D.). His son Ahmad Sabat left the place, went to Najd and lived at 'Anaiza, one of the large cities of Qasim. He left the latter place in 880H (1475 A.D.) and went to Hajar, built there *as-Sabat*, resided there and died there in 890H (1485 A.D.). His two sons—Badr Sabat and Mazan Sabat—left the place (Hajar), and only Mashab remained at Anaiza, where he grew and is now the ancestor of his own distinct family. After that, Mazan Sabat and Badr Sabat departed and came over to al-Jazira; Mazan resided at Jarrahi, as also Badr. Then Jarrad, a descendant of Badr, departed towards Baghdad and resided in the continent of Ajam (Persia). There remained Banu Mazan (descendants of Mazan) and many of Banu Badr (descendants of Badr) at Jarrahi. There remained only Hātim Sabat at Sabat. In 1000H (1591 A.D.) Hilal Sabat left Sabat, and came over to al-Jazira and flourished there.

In a diagram (p. 217), the author gives the names of the descendants of Ahmad Sabat. I may only mention that Ahmad Sabat's son was Hatim Sabat, the latter's son was Arfaja Sabat. His son was Hilal Sabat. His son was Muhammad Sabat. His son was Ibrahim Sabat. His son was Jawad Sabat, our author.

About his family history, Jawad Sabat (pp. 218—221) writes :—He was born in 1188H (1774 A.D.) at Marya at the end of the rule of Hasan Pasha (Turkish Minister at

Baghdad). With him his father migrated to Hajar. After his father's death, his mother moved with him, accompanied by a member of the Sabat family, to the vicinity of Jazira Waz. She was reduced to abject poverty at Abi Shahr. When Hajj Khalil al Kurughli (? Haji Khalil Khan), who was sent as Ambassador by the King of Persia, Baba Khan in 1217H (1802 A.D.) to the British Indian Government, went on pilgrimage during the Amarat (Governorship) of Ibrahim Sabat, there were with him leading men (it is not clear what the author means).

Later she left for al-Jazira and remained (there) till the close of 1206H (1791 A.D.). In 1207H (1792 A.D.) she ordered the author to copy the account of the land-tax at Basra with Numan Aqa ibn Mutfi Aqa al Mardini. At the end of the year, she sent for him a scanty provision by the hand of Muhammad Nabi and Mahmud ibn Mashkur to Kankaun. She died in 1209H (1794 A.D.) may God's mercy be on her, at Basra, and was buried at the burial place of her ancestor, Ali, may God be pleased with him. Her father was Sayyad Muhammad Hakimbashi, chief physician to Sultan Tahmasp Safavi (King of Persia). After the latter's demise, he went to be Ottoman territory, and there was appointed to be the principal physician to Sultan Abdul Hamid (the first). When Sultan Abdul Hamid appointed Sulayman Pasha I, Minister at Baghdad and its surroundings, the minister begged for the physician. The Sultan granted his request. He came with the Minister to Baghdad and was the head of the physicians. On Sulayman Pasha's death, he remained in the service of Ali Pasha, and on the latter's death, he enjoyed the same position under Umar Pasha. Sayyad Muhammad Hakimbashi died of plague at Marya in 1182H (1768 A.D.) and was buried at the burial ground of his ancestor Husayn, may God be pleased with him.

Ibrahim Sabat (the author's father) was born in 1114H (1702 A.D.). He remained in the territory of al-Jazira with his uncles' sons, till he married (Lady) Shahrbap, daughter of the afore-mentioned Sayyad Muhammad Hakimbashi, in 1187H (1773 A.D.), during the Ministry of Abdullah Pasha. Ibrahim Sabat was delegated this year (1187H) to Marya as

a representative of the above minister as Governor. Later, Ibrahim Sabat left the Vilayat of Marya and started on a pilgrimage with Hajj Sitam-al-Arfaji, Abdullah al-Asadi, Mansurul-Kazimavi and Fathullah-al-Husaynavi. On the way there arose between him and his fellow-pilgrims a petty misunderstanding. Ibrahim Sabat complained to Ziyad bin Zuvaid at Tayyar al Anaizi. He attacked them at a time they never suspected of it, so none but a few were let go. Out of this event the common people of the locality called that year "the year of Tayyar."

From thence he went to Hajar; and was favoured with an interview with Saadun ibn Ariar al Khalidi and was by him sent as an Ambassador in the year 1191H (1777 A.D.) to Karim Khan Zindi (King of Persia). He journeyed a second time to him, but had not gone so far as Kankaun, when the intelligence of al-Khalidi's death reached him, in 1193H (1779 A.D.). He was thinking of returning, when Muzaaffar Khan al Bardustani surprised and assassinated Ibrahim Sabat and his companions. His death, may God's mercy be on him, took place in the above year.

As to his training and education, Jawad Sabat writes:— It is not unknown to the discriminating wise that I picked up the correct reading (*tajvid*), inflection (*Sarf*), and syntax (*nahv*) from my revered mother, in my infancy in various places. I learned the rudiments of Persian, and of writing, from Mulla Sadiq al Bahbahani in 1202H (1787 A.D.) in Abi Shahr; prosody and rhyme (*aruz-o-Qwafi*) from Shaykh Abdullah Abi Dandan al Hasavi in 1204H (1789 A.D.); rhetoric and eloquence (*Maani, bayan-o-badi*) from Ahmad ibn Hamud al Hasavi in 1205H (1790 A.D.) at Hasa; tradition (*hadith*), law (*fiqh*), and law of inheritance (*faraiz*), from Sayyad Abdullah al Haddad and Numan ibn Safar Afandi, at Basra, in 1206H (1791 A.D.); logic (*mantiq*), metaphysics (*kalam*), and some branches of science (*hikmat nazarya*), from Muhammad Ghurab, in 1207H (1792 A.D.); mysticism, and ecstasy of love (*tasawwaf-o-wajdanyat*), from that eminent saint Shaykh Abdul Jalil-an Nabalsi, at Damascus, in 1208H (1793 A.D.). I read anew *Sarf-o-nahv* from Sayyad Fadl Ali of Azimabad (Patna) at Dacca, in 1213H (1798 A.D.); a little of logic and Jurisprudence from Maulavi Abdur Rahman-ad-Damani, at

Madras, in 1216H (1801 A.D.). I also acquired a knowledge of various other branches (of learning), from various scholars, e.g., Shaykh Abdullah al Maghrabi; Shaykh Faḍlullah ibn Isan al Hasavi, Maulvi Saṭdar Ali Khan of Masulibandar, and from the ecclesiastic, Henry Martyn, the mathematician of Britain, and from others. (*The list of his books is given in Part II.*)

The fourth station (pp. 221—225). In this the author states particulars as to how the book was printed, in secrecy and under the greatest difficulties. Says he :—

When I gave up the work of translation in 1227H (1812 A.D.) I determined to write this book after my arrival at al-Jazira. Then as well as after my return to Bengal, I saw that the book could not be made known to the public, unless it was printed. I had a few white Dirhams (Silver coins), which I lay by for dark days. Out of it, I set up this printing press. But the money was insufficient, so I wrote a book, called *Sarasar* and submitted it to the members of the Bible Society. The accursed Georgian, determined to take vengeance upon me and approached that body and told them about my real design, at a time, I was away, for nine months, at Serampore, with Rev. Mr. Brown. He told them that my translation (of the New Testament) was not correct, and was against the Arabic idiom, so that my work might suffer. Oh, for literature, that the Georgian should pose as an Arabic *littérateur* and pass his verdict on my Arabic translation rendered from English! The members of the society told me: Your book the *Sarasar* is written against the tenets of Christian faith, that you are not a Christian, and that the translation (of the Bible) is inaccurate, as the students of the Madrasa (College of Fort William) have testified to that effect, and also one of the (Muslim) merchants. I replied that as far as the evidence of the Muslims are concerned, it is based on enmity. As to his information, it is owing to envy. Is it reasonable to suppose, that I should refute your faith, and seek your help? They replied: 'We will presently consider the matter for its fulfilment. I then returned, and set up the press, and commenced printing this book, in my house, secretly. The Georgian tried to pry into my secrets, led astray my pressmen, blacksmiths and carpenters, and made

them suspicious of me. He carried them off to his place so that he might provide them at some Christians,' and extinguish God's light with his breath.

I mentioned this to one of my associates, and begged of him to speak about the matter to his brother, that he might dissuade him, as both of them were two souls in one body. My associate spoke to him that Ibn Sabat exercised violence against Ahmad, the Georgian. Oh Islam, Where's good men and true words! Is anything left for Islam, or is for Muslims safety in the blessed Muhammad! Is in Muslim any belief in God or a burning of the fire of faith in their breast! Why, how, or on what account, did I exercise violence against him? Wherefore, for what reason, did there arise enmity between me and him? Is it the camel that I have not branded, or the sheep I have not dispersed, though I am not one of his sect, or a seller of his stock; how could it come into his mind? While I shut my door, kept away from my companions, he, his brother, his companions and helpers were waiting for me, in every nook and corner, and watching me in every hiding-place.

When my victory was near, and the morning star was distinctly perceptible, I went one day to pay my respects to Harting (Harington), Judge of the Supreme Court. He wished to know if I wanted to go to see the Honourable Lady Leajen (Nugent), wife of General Leagen, the Commander-in-chief of the army, and representative of the Governor-General of India, Earl Moira. I agreed and accompanied him to her house on the 28th Zil-Qada, 1229H (1814 A.D.) (that is, during the present year). She was sitting with her husband, the Lord, and the Councillors, one of whom was Amir Seaton (Honourable Archibald Seaton, member of the supreme council). They commenced talking with me. Later, she inquired of me: Have you seen what the Rev. Claudius Buchanan has written about you? I replied: Yes. She asked: Who could have disclosed the story to you? Again: It is your duty that you should put it down in writing, in English,—which I did, as I could not do otherwise. The Honourable Harington said, that all men taunt you on your religious belief. I told him that my belief was that none could be saved except by the love of Messiah. He said: How is it, then, that people

speak something different against you ? I replied : If what they say be true, you can inflict what punishment I may deserve. But it is not proper to do so on hearsay. On which Harington exclaimed : May God prolong his life—is he not a man whose enemies are numerous ? The Muslims accuse him what he is not guilty of. The meeting then separated. Later, one of them inquired, if I knew who was the man that accused me. I said : No. He said : It is Ahmad al-Jurji ash Shirwani, who said to some of the easily led Francks, that you are about to write a book against the Christian religion, and print it at your house, and also an Arab gave evidence to that effect. I inquired : Who was the individual, may God bless you, and save you ? He replied : One of the prominent men, and leading merchants. I said : What benefit do they derive from it. He said : Lest the Francks may not suspect them that all the Arabs have made a common cause with you, and the Francks may not oppress them, or decline to take them into their service.

So my good friend, see their evil hidden thoughts and manners, want of fear of the creator of the world, and poverty of their faith in the Prophethood of the last of the great Messengers. See their high-handedness upon one, who has spent his youth, given up his money, left out his family and companions, only for the victory of the true religion, and the holy faith. Say, O God ! help those who help the faith of Muhammad, and forsake those who forsake the faith of Muhammad.

I spent my life in this state, till my purpose was served (the book was printed). Neither did the enemy, may the Lord's curse be on him, nor his companions and members, succeed in doing any harm to me. I was informed by certain trustworthy Christians that he (the Georgian) had told them about me (the author) that : Ibn Sabat has no religion of his, no faith nor belief nor conviction : his is a philosophical religion and *hakami* disposition. He wants to make money from the Christians, and live with the Muslims. When the author had been to his home, he had written a book for the Muslims, proving to their conviction as to the truth of his faith in Islam. He (the Georgian) was informed of the preparation of the book by the Shaykh and celebrated

Docto Nāfi'. The Georgian said to the Christians that if he wished, he could refute the book and knock the door of its author. The Baptist priest, Warde Rose (?) retorted : O brother of Georgia, you are not the horseman of the battlefield. (Here about a page of the text is left out in which the author expresses his views about the defence of Islam and truth.)

When God Almighty was pleased to enable me to finish the printing of this bright fool-moon and the clear proof, I ordered to put the sheets together, which was done in my rooms. I paid for it, out of my own pocket; concealed all the volumes in my house. I am, now, busy for its transmission. If arrangement for the publication of the *Sarasar* is made, I will print it, and will send my appurtenances with my friend, Khalfan, of whom I have mentioned previously. I will send with him the printed volumes, so that he may transmit them to fixed places. In case the *Sarasar* is not printed, I will dispose of the press (Sabati press) and undertake what I may set my heart upon.

The fifth station (pp. 225—228). This chapter is on additional authentic intelligence that came to the notice of the author, after the publication of the Introduction to this work, as to the insult, which the licentious Muslim merchants who came to Bengal, gave expression to, about Muslim Khalifas, Imams, and Rulers.

(1) The merchants associate the idolators in the worship of the latter's idols once every year. The fact is that the merchants write a card to every one of them to this effect : "The high Goddess Durgaji. *A* sends his greetings to *B* and begs him to be present on such-and-such a day, at a dancing party, and honour the occasion in the worship of the Goddess Durgaji. A certain good man remonstrating that this was improper in accordance with the tenet of Islam, some of the pious merchants retorted : "What's the difference between going to the worship of the Goddess Durga, and the pilgrimage to Husain, which is not incumbent, by his words." The result of the controversy being that the pilgrimage to (the tomb of) Husain, was not like the worship of the accursed Goddess.

(2) The above speaker sold his slave, to John Palmer and

the news became public. A pious man asked him, " Could you not sell the slave to a good Musalman ? " He replied, that so-and-so sold his slave, the Georgian, who is the reader and writer, to Sayyah the master, (contemptuously changing the letter *d* to *h*, i.e., pronouncing the word *Sayyad* as *Sayyah*) meaning thereby as-Sayyad Said ibn Sultan ibn ul Imam Ahmad ul Azadi, King of 'Amman. He is a Muslim, reads the Quran, fasts in Ramadan, and there can be no comparision between him and John Palmer, the Nazarene and *zani*.

(3) The said Georgian married in 1227H (1812 A.D.) a whore, who was in the keeping of a certain Christian. A good man asked him : " Why did you not marry a virgin ? " To which the accursed fellow replied, " What is the difference between a whore, who repents, and a daughter of the Zaydyia Imam, when she lives dissolutely ? By God, this woman is purer in Contentment, than the wife of Sharif Hasan ibn Khalid al Hazami." The above Sharif is one of the Ulama of the time, a Mujtahid in his religious persuasion. His Vazir is Hamud ibn Muhammad al Abil Khayrat, entitled Abil Mismar.

(4) I heard from a reliable source that a merchant had been to the house of another man. The old man of the latter house, who used to teach sorcery, said : " There comes this year, from the English Isles a very precious cargo." " What is it ? " queried one, " Such-and-such things, including old wine ", replied the sorcerer. The merchant was asked : " Is it lawful to buy, sell, deal with, and receive wine ? " The merchant replied : " If it is fully refined is lawful ; who distinguishes unlawful from lawful ? None denies it, nor inquires whence it is from. Let it be what it is, is it permissible to shed blood, and violate female chastity ? " Stranger than this is, that when the liquor market is dull, or when after some days the supply being not in abundance, the owner hires, in front of his door, a shop, and sells the same publicly. It is not weighed properly, but he deceives his customers. All other traders know and connive at it. o .

(5) In 1229H (1814 A.D.) one of the merchants brought in his ship horses, brin.stones, dates and asafœtida. A good

man taxed him for what he was doing, as such a transaction by a man like him was improper. The merchant replied, "I have insured this ship, so there is no harm." The good man said, "I do not speak of smaller, or greater return, but what I mean is that it is against the injunction of the Prophet, and contrary to the traditions." He replied, by quoting a well known Persian couplet : *If you commit a sin, do it on Friday night, so that you may be the president of the Hell.* (It is not quite clear what the author suggests. It means, I suppose, that the merchant obtained a ship-load of valuable things, i.e., horses, etc. in a *game of chance*, which is against the Muhammadan law and to which the good man took an exception. The good man spoke in earnest, the gambler replied in jest.)

(6) One of these merchants gave a banquet on the occasion of his son's circumcision. It was estimated that a sum exceeding Rupees twenty thousand had been spent in dancing-girls, singers, dancers, flute-players, musicians and shams. He invited various people on the occasion. On the day the (European) Christians were entertained, he provided for them liquor worth Rupees one thousand, which was served in his house. When they became drunk, they wrecked all his China vessels, abused and taunted him. I told him, "If you had spent the money in the way of God, it would have been good for you." He replied, "I earn money from the Devil, so it is not proper to spend it for God."

(7) When the sovereigns of Europe were reconciled (or, made peace) at the end of this year (1229H), he illuminated his house, on the receipt of the intelligence thereof, at an expense of Rs. 1,000 for the supply of oil and candles. When the news of the peace between the King of 'Amman and the Chiefs of Bani Ataba and Qawasim was received, one of the good men, by way of joke, spoke to him, "Why do you not illuminate your house and set a nice precedent for us, in order to conciliate the intimate and perplex the hypocrite ?" The merchant asked, "What for ?" The good man answered, for the peace of the king of Ammān with those two great armies." He laughed so much, that his canine teeth separated, and he fell backward on the threshold of his door. He then said, "Where is the fly and plates for them ?" and, "Upon God the Francks (Europeans) are

better than the ibada (whites) (natives of Aleppo and other cities)." Oh God ! Oh justice ! Are not the ibāḍa among those who follow the Book of God (the Qur'an) and who believe in God's messenger ?

(8) In 1226H (1811 A.D.) two of the merchants despatched their goods to Basra. When they received the news of their arrival, they gave a feast and invited therein women of ill-fame, singers, drummers, musicians. Some of their companions asked them as to the occasion of the entertainment. They said, " We made once a vow to our father to give a feast individually on receipt of the news of the safe arrival of our goods to Basra, and to invite therein all and sundry." The questioner asked, " Why did you not vow to God Almighty, the creator of insects and elephants ? " The two merchants replied : " Verily, he never fulfils his vows, accomplishes his affairs, assists his soldiers, feeds his guests or fulfils his promises. We see that the pious are in greater distress and adversity."

(9) One of these merchants sent goods in 1226H (1811 A.D.) to Baghdad. The old man, the magical professor, inquired of him, " Have you given a bill of credit on it ? " He replied, " I have vowed to God that I would sell for the fulfilment of the vow such quantity of the goods, that may be thrown away as worthless, hoping, thereby to insure their safety by God's blessings." The magician asked, " Have you not given a letter of credit to an Insurance company ? " He replied, " It is unlawful " (according to Islamic Law). The professor of the black-art retorted :— " Oh to you ; will it economise your journey or at last your wisdom ? Unlawful is what you leave behind, and lawful is what you make it so with your hand."

(10) The French tax-collector (*i.e.*, the tax-collector of the company) as a rule, realizes duties (probably custom duties) in excess, of which they refund a part to these merchants. The latter misappropriate and use them for their own use, concealing the fact from the consignors. Semetime, when the latter come to know of the fact, they take them severely to task.

There are many such other instances, which I am unable to describe.

The sixth station (pp. 228—234). In this chapter the author gives a very useful list of those Muslim Ulama or scholars who were living at the time the book was written, or those whose names came to his knowledge. He regrets that he could not know the names of many Ulama, which must be very large. He mentions the names of 19 Ulama of the two holy places of Mecca and Palestine ; 16 of Najd ; 39 of Hajar ; 36 of al-Jazira, Baghdad, Syria, and Aleppo ; 28 of Persia ; 4 of Egypt ; 26 of Yaman ; 5 of Hadramaut ; 38 of India. At the end of the above chapter, Sabat adds a few lines under the title of *Latiqa* or pleasantry (p. 234) *re* his friend the Georgian Ahmad-Shirwani.

I have just come to know that the Georgian, on him be curse, was sitting in 1228H (1813 A.D.) at his Professor's house, when the conversation turned on the strength of the English (as a power). He said that the conquest of Arabian countries was easier for them than to cut wood for fuel. His professor said that the God of the Arabians was not unmindful of them. On which, the accursed fellow, suddenly introduced his opinion to professor's and said that it was his opinion that the English would occupy the ports of Mokha and Hudayda ; and the representative of the Francks (English) would not always spread mattresses for the rulers of those places. The real fact, in his opinion, was that the English did not occupy another man's territory because of the absence of an outward cause.

The above Georgian similarly spoke at a meeting of a prominent European, who had him expelled from the society. The European said : " If I hear you speak like that, I will catch you on what you utter, and pay you what you deserve." So you see, my good brother, the evil mind of this accursed, ignorant, fellow, may God leave him in the lurch. Look also to the negligence of the chieftains of Arabia, and to their inattention to the evil example of men of Georgian type. So, verily, O God, strengthen Islam and its followers, those who hold aloft its standards, and give a great height to its pillars.

The author having finished his task, for which he was labouring for so many years, and having determined on going out from these quarters, he pened, so he writes, to

the ecclesiastic, Thomas Thomason, may God remove from his eyes the veil, the following letter and despatched it to him with a copy of the "Proofs." It is reasonable, says he, that I should publish its translation in Arabic, so that it may be an interpretation to those who may respect it, and a remembrance to those who may recall to memory. This is what I said : (pp. 234-35).

"From the servant of the Muhammadan faith, and supporter of the Ahmadian religion, Jawad Sabat ibn Ibrahim Sabat, Basifin al Hasani al Hanafi. To The ecclesiastic Thomason, may God lead him to the pursuit of the Orthodox-religion, and to the continuance on the heel of the glorious Holy-law.

"It is not unknown to you that when I arrived in this country and saw what you intended to do for the seduction of the people, and the diffusion of mischief; when I witnessed the inclination of the heart of the ignorant Musalmans towards apostasy and what (Ludovicus) Marraccus had written against the holy Quran and the well-arranged Word, knew the gist of your intention, and understood the goal of your preaching; I moved wholly towards you, deceived you by my transfer to you, associated myself with you, in giving up the law of God, in the worship of idols, and striking of the Church-bells, freed myself from family and relatives, separated from home and wealth, endured your bad treatment, listened to your meaningless discourses, burned in the heat of fire of association of men like you. You no doubt imagined that I believed in what you believed (Christianity), submitted to your submission, coveted your riches, applauded your doings, hankered after your worldly goods, and believed in your future life. But I never aimed at all that, but (I did all these) for the sake of information into the real truth of your religion, and the understanding of the laws of your faith. At last I understood what I had intended and acquired the knowledge of it to the highest of my wish. I fling it out to you neglected, and make you (leave you) forgotten and disregarded. I send to you a copy of the 'Barchinu's-Sabatia' (the Sabatian Proofs), in writing, arranging, and perfecting which I spent a life-time. Look to it with a just look, and remove from yourself prejudice and oppression. Perhaps God may guide

you by it from the evil-way, and enlist you among those who believe in the Prophethood of the noble illiterate (Ummi) Prophet. Adieu, to those who follow those who lead the right path."

As in the Introduction to this work, the author inserted a learned Qasida addressed to his Excellency As'ad Pasha, Turkish Minister of Baghdad, so at the conclusion of it he published another qasida which he had composed in 1226H (1811 A.D.) in encomium of Ghausil-Azam Abi Abdir Razzaq Abdil Qadir Jilani. including patriotic lines in praise of Baghdad and Iraq and the inhabitants thereof. The poet lauds Baghdad and Iraq, praises Baghdad as a " Land of Peace" (*Darus-Salam*) and an abode of the worthy ; its great men—its *Ulamā*, its *Hukamā*, (doctors), its poets, its *Sadāt*—being truly worthy.

PART II

Ma Yahdaruhun Nadim : or, What is indispensable to the courtier.

In 1911 the Bengal Asiatic Society acquired through Hāfiẓ Nazīr Ahmad, one of its travelling Maulavis, a MS. volume of Jawad Sabat's Arabic works, written in the author's own hand, from the late Hakim Mehdi of Lucknow. The volume, according to the table of contents, prefixed, consists of twelve, but actually, thirteen books—each book on a special subject. The entire collection is entitled " Ma Yahdaruhun Nadim " (or what is indispensable to the courtier). In the " Sabatian proofs," (third *station*, p. 220), the author gives a list of twenty-nine books and pamphlets he had written or compiled. Shaykh Ahmad of Shirwan—the Jurji or Georgian of Sabat—gives the names of fifteen of these books, as well as his poems, in the third chapter of his " Nafahat al yaman fima yazulu be zikri hish Shajan," an Arabic miscellany of compositions, in prose and verse, selected or original, published under the patronage of the College of Fort William, Calcutta, in 1811, to which Sabat refers. One of the books which Sabat wrote was " al Jatnas Sabatia in refutation of the criticism made by critics " on his Persian translation from English of the New Testament. No copy of it I have seen. The other two are his Arabic and Persian translations of the New Testament. ✓ The " Sarasaras Sabatia," was the book he wanted to print with the help of the Missionaries, but its consideration was postponed. Of this book the author writes that ' like it no one has seen in this age.' The last book, which he wrote at the time of his departure was, " an-Nasihatul Akhyar u Fadihatul-Ashrar," or an advice to the good and disgrace to the wicked. The Asiatic Society's codex does not contain Sabat's letters in Persian, but only in Arabic, nor does it contain his Persian verses. ☺

Besides his "Proofs" and the five books noted above, I may mention the titles of his other books mentioned by him :—

(1) Al-Qawaaid al Falkanrya fi Zaruriyatis Sarfi wan Nahv, in Persian ; (2) Zaruriyat us Sarf fi Ilmit-Tasrif, in Arabic : (3) Muqaddamat ul-Ulum fil mantiq ; (4) al-Mujizan Nafi fil Aruz ; (5) al-Mukhtasir al Wafi fil Aruz wal Qawafi ; (6) al-Anmuzaj as Sabation *Ditto* (*i.e.* Aruz and Qawafi) ; (7) Rabtil-Himar fi Raddil Istizar fi Isbati Ijtihadi Mu'āvia (this was in refutation of Maulavi Baqir of Madras—according to Ahmad Shirwani) ; (8) Tuhfatal Baqshiriya fil Badi ; (9) Sharab us Sufiya fit Tasuwwaf ; (10) Sihāmus—Sabatia fil Mujarrabati ; (11) al-Wazaif us Sabatia fi Adiyatil Masura ; (12) Mujiz ar Ramal ; (13) Zurghatihil-Ramal ; (14) al-Khulasat as Sabatia fil Ibadatil-Hanafiya ; (15) Translation of al-Khulasat al Hisab' from Arabic into Persian ; (16) Translation of 'al-Ikhtiyarat al Mansuriya, from Persian into Arabic ; (17) Commentary on the verse "an-Nur" ; (18) Commentary of the Risala Zahabiya (both 17 and 18 in Persian) ; (19) Anis-al Ushshaq u Jalilal Mushtaq on sexual intercourse, in Arabic ; (20) al-Dahmakat as Sabatia on Sarf and Nahv in *Hindi* ; (21) al-Mura'alat as Sabatia, his letters in Arabic and Persian ; (22) al-Khiyalat as Sabatia, his Persian poems ; (23) an-Nafahat as Sabatia, his Arabic poems.

The six books noticed earlier, including "The Sabattian proofs" plus the twenty-three books noted above, make up the 29 books which the author had written. Ahmad, the author of an-Nafahat al Yaman, omits nos. 14 to 20 as well as the six noticed already—some of them were no doubt written after the publication of the Nafahat al Yaman.

The Asiatic Society's Codex, entitled "What is indispensable to the Courtier," as I have said, contains 13 books as noted below :—

BOOK I.—Called "an-Nafahat as Sabatia" or *Sabatia*; *Fragrance* is the first Chapter of the first topic, This al Jawad Sabat's book of verses, or "Diwan..." liter's

Beginning "الرحيم - قال احقر العياد الى رحمة ربها" ^{ammad}

و قلت اسئل الله رسوله الصعييف المنفي كثير الانضباط ^{* محمد الجعواد}

و يجلله سریال رحمة بجواه سباط *

Translation.

In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate,—Saith, the poorest of the servants of God, dependent on the mercy of his Lord and seeking refuge on the intercession of his Apostle, the weak, excited with excessive anguish, Muhammad al-Jawad as Sabati al-Lutfi, better known as Jawad Sabat.

The poems were collected on the 10th Ramadan, year عموکا gharka (1221 H. = 1806 A.D.) at Madras—folios 52. Some of the verses have been addressed to the following persons :—(1) Amin Ahmad ibn al Fadl ibn Yahya ash Shami al Qandahari; (2) Sayyad Mansur of Medina, at Marwar, in Baroda; (3) In encomium of Ismail ibn Ibrahim al Baghda-di; (4) Sayyad Muhammad of Bahbahan, who is ill-tempered; (5) Satire on the city of Shiraz; (6) Satire on Sayyad Muhammad ibn Aqil ash Shâqiqi; (7) Encomium of Maulavi Muhammad Qasim of Bengal, Qadi al Qudat at Madras (of District Burdwan, Bengal); (8) Shaykh Nimatullah Sufi of Phulwari (Behar); (9) Sayyad Muhammad ibn Aqil (same as No. 6), who accused Sabat that he was a Shia; (10) Maulvi Ziyaun Nabi of Rampur, (11) Maulavi Dildar Ali of Lucknow,

Accused of being a *rafidi* (shia), Sabat, whose *nom-de-plume* was Lutfi, wrote the following verse denying the charge. It was addressed to Sayyad Muhammad Aqil (above).

قل للرافض ان لم يفهموا افهموا ماذا اقول و ان لم يخبروا اختبروا	بان خير الورى بعد النبي ابو بكر الكريم و مصباح الدهر عمر	ثم الجليل عقان و حيدرة و هذه انجم للاهند اغمدوا
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Translation.

Say to the Rafidi—if they have not understood, let them understand what I say, and if they do not know, let them know by experience that the best man after the prophet is Abu-Bakr, the noble-minded, and 'Umar, the light of the world, then the venerable 'Usmân and his Haydar (Ali). These are the stars distinctly visible on the excellent steel.

The following is the last couplet of a verse of four in encomium of Ali.

تَلْطِفٌ عَلَى الْلَّطْفِي سَرِيعاً مَعْجَلاً فَقَدْ رَفِضَتْ مِنْهُ الْوَلَاءُ وَالْأَمَاجِدُ

[Thy mercy on Lutfi quickly and hurriedly, as the friends and prominent men have forsaken him].

The poem beginning with *Al-ahlu Sadiqin Sadiqun Sabit'ul Wadi*, inserted in full in the appendix, is very interesting, as in it the poet gives a short account of his itinerary.

BOOK II.—Al-Murasalat as Sabatia, or Sabatian correspondence being the second Chapter of the first topic. This according to the "Foreword" consists of three parts, viz., (1) Arabic letters, (2) Persian letters, (3) Advices to poets and writers (conclusion). In this collection only selected Arabic letters are given, folios 53 to 95. They are written to various persons—to some more than one letter. These are the persons to whom Sabat wrote:—(1) Ziyaun-Nabi, for a loan of the *Qamus*; (2) Maulavi Sadan (brother of Maulavi Madan, the last named was the first Arabic professor, Calcutta Madrasah, appointed by Warren Hastings); (3) Maulavi Abdul Ali ibn Nizamuddin of Lucknow; (4) Maulavi Ghulam Pir (written Fir), Mufti of Dacca (a man of Bihar); (5) A letter that Sabat wrote to the Shia Ulama of Iraq-i-Arab for Amir Ashraf Ali of Dacca (*Vide Appendix V*); (6) Qadi Najmuddin Khan—Qadial Qudat of Bengal; (7) Maulavi Ahmadullah of Mednipur (Bengal), (8) Sayyad Ali of Rampur; (9) Maulavi Muhammad Qāsim of Bengal (Burdwan), Qadi ai Qudat at Madras (written for pecuniary help); (10) Maulavi Baqir of Madras; (11) To my brother Khalil Sabat—from India to Iraq; (12) Maulavi Abdur-Rab and Qudrat Ali (son and son-in-law respectively of Maulavi Abdul Ali of Lucknow); (13) Mirza Rada Khan of Shirāz; (14) *Tazkira* or *memorandum* to Qadi Abdullah Yafiyi al-Yamani (3 letters with Persian verses with the writer's *nom-de-plume* of Lutfi); (15) Mirza Ahmad ibn Muhammad Shirwani al-Ansari. Sabat writes:—

وَقَلَتْ اسْلَلَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَتَكَرُّمَ وَتَفَضُّلَ أَنْ يَمْنَ عَلَيْهِ بِعَافِيَةِ الْبَسِيْطَةِ
وَيَجْلِلُهُ سَرِيَالَ رَحْمَةِ الْمُعْيَطِ بِعَرْمَةِ كِتَابِ التَّوْرِيْتِ وَمَا يَنْهَى مِنْ سَفَرٍ

باعتقاد يهودي و به برکت سجل الزبور و ما فيه من مزبور ليقين صبي
و بذرية صحف الانجيل و ما فيها من بصريح بامان مسيحي و بحق
صحف القرآن و ما فيه من جزء و آياته بتسمك محمدي و أن يجمع
شملی به قبل المسير و يربنی وجهه قبل النقليس و التسمير أنه على ذالك
قدیرو بالاجابة جدیر مرقومة المحب المعروف محررة التاريخ الموصوف *

[I say, I beg to God, the honoured, the great, the generous, the excellent, that He may be merciful to him, with extensive health and cover him with the dress of comprehensive mercy—by the sanctity of the book of Tora, and whatever there is in that volume, according to the belief of the Jews—and by the blessings of the roll of psalms, and whatever is written therein, according to the ardent faith of the youthful love—and by means of the books of Evangel and whatever truth is therein as to the faith in Messiah—and by the truth of the Quran and whatever is in its Chapters and verses by the Muhammadan written obligation, etc., etc., etc.] The above was no doubt written to Ahmad, the Jurji or Georgian, before Sabat quarrelled with him or to show the Catholicity of his belief; (16) Memorandum to Maulavis Ahmadi, Abi'l Hasan and Abi Turab of Phulwari [written first to renew the old friendship, secondly to secure a reliable Persian Copyist, and that the servant of the Christian faith, Henry Martyn, the priest, was very anxious to see them]; (17) a long letter; (18) to Thalum bin Harun al Musavi and Fathullah, son of Johan al-'Isavi. In it Sabat wrote: In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is He not the one, everlasting and first? May God's mercy be on you, and upon all the Bishops and priests, and holy brethren, in the name of Lord Jesus Christ, always till the end of the day. By Nathaniel Sabat of Sabati pedigree, and of Christian faith. Written under date, Dinapur (Patna), the 10th January 1808 AD.

BOOK III.—On *Mantiq* or Logic, folios 96 to 100.

BOOK IV.—On "Ramal" or Geomancy, folios 111 to 117½.

Conclusion : Finished the third part of the VIII Chapter at the end of 1212H (1797 A.D.) in Calcutta.

BOOK V.—On “Tasrif” or Syntax. The Book is wrongly put, not after folio 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ but as folios 209 to 219 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Conclusion : Finished in the middle of 1220H (1805 A.D.) at Ishaqfatan (Vizagapatam) in Madras.

BOOK VI.—On ‘Aruz or Prosody, folios 118 to 125.

Conclusion : Finished at the end of 1215H (1800 A.D.) at Akbarabad (Agra).

BOOK VII.—On *Qafiya* or Rhyme or Metre, folios 220 to 225.

Conclusion : Finished in 1222H (1807 A.D.) at Rajbandary (Rajamandry).

BOOK VIII.—Anmuzaj as Sabati on prosody and rhyme : written for my dear brother, Qadi Muhyud-Din Ahmad Khan, son of Qadi Abi-Bakr Fakhrud-Din Ali Khan, may God preserve them.

The book was written at the beginning of Ramadan 1226H (1811 A.D.) at Madras, folios 126-131.

BOOK IX.—Wadayaf Sabatia or Sabatian Daily Prayers ; some of them are apparently Christian prayers.

Conclusion : Finished their collection, with additions at the end of 1212H (1797 A.D.) at Khujistabunyad (Aurangabad, Deccan), folios 132-159 $\frac{1}{2}$.

BOOK X.—Siham as-Sabatia, or Sabatian archer, on prayer which has been tested.

Conclusion : Arranged the book by the end of Ramadan 1218H (1803 A.D.) at Ishaqfatan (Vizagapatam in Madras), folios 160-163.

BOOK XI.—Sharabas Sufya or “ Wine of the Sufis ” (*i.e.*, Mystic’s ecstasy).

Conclusion : Finished its arrangement at the beginning of Ramadan, 1209H (1794 A.D.) at Basra, folios 166-172.

BOOK XII.—Fi-Zikri Sabil ir Rishad on Way to the right direction, on Sufism.

Conclusion : The book was completed on the expiry of seven days of the first decade of the sixth month of the

seventh year after twelve centuries, that is, 7th Jamadis-Sani 1207H (1791 A.D.) at Daka $\text{as}^{\prime}\text{a}$, folios 173-181 $\frac{1}{2}$.

BOOK XIII.—al-Tuhfat al-Baqshariya or "Present to Baqshir," not mentioned in the Table of contents pre-fixed to the collection, but noted both by the author in the "Proofs" and by Ahmad. The author was requested by Amir Kabir and high powerful asylum al-Amir Ali ibn Usman Baqshir by origin of Yaman, by birth of Bukhara, to write a short treatise on Rhetoric, folios 182-208. The year and the place when the book was written are not given. Perhaps at Bukhara.

PART III*

LIFE AND WORK OF JAWAD SABAT.

The following geographical account of Arabia will be useful to the reader, as Sabat frequently refers to it in his books :—

Arabia or Jaziratul-Arab, is the south-western peninsula of Asia. Western Arabia consists of two parts : Hejaz and Yaman. Hejaz is on the east of the Red Sea and west of Najd. al-Waz (or el-Wej) is a sea-port on the Gulf of Akaba and lies within the Egyptian frontier-line. The road from Egypt to Mecca joins at *Khera* and goes east of the Hisma-mountains, past Man, Tabuk and al-Hajar or Madain Salih. Yaman, at the south-west extremity of Arabia, is almost entirely occupied by a hilly plateau. The Imām of Yaman resides at San'ā, the capital ; and Hudayda is one of its sea-ports. Kan-Keban mountain lies north of San'ā. *Hadramaut*, east of Yaman, occupies the south-east coast, along the Indian Ocean, from Aden to cape Rāsul-Had. Upper Qasim (which lies between the mountains of Shammār and the valley of the lower Qasim), belongs to Najd. *Qasim* which is a wide fertile valley possesses three large towns one of which is 'Anaizu. The eastern-most province of Arabia is 'Ammān and al-Hasa. The central plateau or *Najd* is regarded by the Arabs as particularly their own. The capital of the Country called *Bahrayn* is *al-Hajar*. *al-Jazira* is the name given by the Arab Geographers to the northern part of the land between the Euphatres and the Tigris, *Iraq-Ajam* (Persian Iraq) is called *al-Jabal* or *Quhistan*.

It was at *al-Jazira*, Djazira of European geographers, the northern part of the land between the rivers *al-Furat* or Euphatres and *Dajla* or Tigris, that Jawad Sabat's family lived. *al-Jazira* (Greek, *Mesopotamia*), according to Arab

* This part is compiled from the previous parts as well as from other sources.

Geographer Abul Fida, is situated as follows : In the west of the country lie, al-Jazira and the Desert or Badyatul-Jazira ; in the south the desert or Badyatul-Iraq, the Persian Gulf, and Khujistan : in the east, the mountain Country, as far as Halwan. This tract is within the administrative division of Iraq—which includes such well known places as Baghdad, Mosul, Basra, ‘Amara, Karbala, Hulla. The Turkish Vazir or Governor-General of Iraq had his capital at Baghdad, and possessed supreme authority from Diyar-bakr to Bahrayn.

HIS FAMILY.

Jawad Sabat's father was a respectable Arab of al-Jazira. He was born in 1702 A. D. and married, at an advanced age, in the year 1773, the daughter of a Perso-Arab physician of great repute, domiciled at Baghdad. Both the families of Sabat's father and mother trace their descent from the Arabian Prophet. Thirteenth in descent from Imam Hasan was the celebrated Shaykh Abdil Qadir il-Jili or Jilani (471-561 H = 1078-1165 A. D.). His son, Sayyad Abdur Razzaq, was the direct ancestor of the Sabats. Jawad Sabat writes of the saintly Shaykh as al-Gauthil Azam abi (father of) Abdir Razzaq Abdul Qadir il-Jilani. Sayyad Abdir Razzaq's great-great-great-grandson was Sayyad Muhyas-sunnat. Sixth in descent from the latter, was Sayyad Ahmad, surnamed Sharaful-Islam, who quitted al-Jazira in 1396, and settled at al-Jabal, where he married. Sayyad Ahmad Sharaful-Islam died at al-Jabal in 1436. His son, Ahmad, appears to be very enterprising. He left al-Jabal, migrated to Najd, in central Arabia, regarded by the Arabs themselves as peculiarly their own—the place of their most cherished traditions and institutions. There he lived at Anaiza (Onezza), one of the large towns of Qasim—a wide fertile valley west of Woshem. He left Anaiza in 1475 and went to al-Hajar—a tract in Arabia called Bahrayn. Here at al-Hajar, Ahmad built what is called *as-Sabat*—a corridor or covered place. *Sabat* in Arabic, is a mansion, with a *thaqila* or roof between two houses, having a passage underneath for people to pass. From this structure, it appears, that Ahmad and his descendants adopted the title of Sabat and Sabati, and the family was dubbed as *Bani-Sabat*. The builder of this peculiarly

Arab mansion, according to the genealogical tree, was called by the double titles of Sabat and Basifin, but the second one is omitted from the names of his descendants. The author, Jawad, some time uses both and some time omits the latter title. I am unable to account for the title of Basifin, or its significance. Ahmad died at Sabat in 1485. I need only mention, that Ibrahim Sabat, our author's father, was sixth in descent from the lord of as-Sabat. Of the sons of Ahmad Sabat, only Hātim Sabat remained at Sabat, and others wandered over or settled in various places—Anaiza, Jarrahi, Baghdad, etc. In the year 1591 Hātim's great-grandson, Hilal Sabat, returned to his ancestral home, al-Jazira, and resided there. Hilal Sabat's grandson was Ibrahim Sabat, the author's father.

Jawad Sabat's mother, Shahrban (perhaps, the Arabicised form of Persian Shahr Banu) was the daughter of the chief physician, Sayyad Muhammad. She was descended from Imam Husayn, second son of Ali. The chief physician's grandfather was Sayyad Abi-Bakr, and his father Sayyad Husayn. Sayyad Muhammad was Hakimbashi, or chief physician to Shah Tahmasp Safavī, king of Persia. After the king's death (who was deposed in 1732), Sayyad Muhammad went to Turkey and was appointed Ra'isul-Hukama, or Head Physician, to Sultan Abdul Hamid I. of Turkey. The chief physician, with the consent of the Ottoman Sultan, accompanied Sulayman Pasha to Baghdad when the latter was appointed to be the Ottoman Vazir or Governor-General of Vilayat Baghdad and its dependencies. He enjoyed the same rank and position during successive Governor-Generals of Baghdad—Ali Pasha, Umar Pasha—but died of plague in 1768 at Marya, and was buried at the burial ground of Imam Husayn. He served the Turkish Government—at the capital and provinces—for a very long time.

Ibrahim Sabat was born in 1702. He resided at al-Jazira with his uncles' sons till his marriage in 1773 with the deceased Sayyad Muhammad's daughter, Shahrban, during the Governor-Generalship of Baghdad and its dependencies, of Abdullah Pasha. According to the date given by Jawad Sabat, his father was over seventy at the time of his above marriage, which I believe was not Ibrahim's first marriage.

In this year, Ibrahim was sent by Abdullah Pasha to be the Amir of Vilayat Marya as a representative of the Governor-General.

At a subsequent date, Ibrahim left Marya—apparently after he was relieved of his high post, and went to perform his pilgrimage. He picked up a quarrel, on the way, with his companions. This estranged feeling led him to seek the assistance of the local chief of Anaiza-Ziyad bin Zuvaid at-Tayyar. Arab-like he attacked Ibrahim's companions unawares, and killed them with but a few exceptions. This event was commemorated by the Beduin of Anaiza by recalling the event as the “Sanat-at-Tayyar,” or the year of Tayyar (the Anaiza chief). From there Ibrahim went to al-Hajar in the province of Bahrayn. In 1777 he undertook on behalf of Saadun ibn Ariar al Khalidi, probably the local Shaykh of Bahrayn, an expedition to the court of Karim Khan Zand (1750-1799) as an ambassador. He was delegated a second time in 1779 by the same chief to the same court. The sender, al-Khalidi dying, the ambassador, who had gone as far as Kankaun, in Khujistan, in Persia, was thinking of returning back, when the latter with his companions were assassinated on the same year by Muzaaffar Khan of Bardustan. Ibrahim Sabat died at the age of 77 and after seven years of his married life with Shahrbān.

Jawad Sabat was born at Marya in 1774 during the rule of Turkish Governor-General of Baghdad, Hasan Pasha, when his father, Ibrahim Sabat, was Amir or Governor of Marya. It appears that within a year or so there was a change of Government at Baghdad, Hasan Pasha replacing Abdullah Pasha, as I find Ibrahim Sabat going from Marya on pilgrimage, and then to Hajar, with the infant Jawad, from where he went to the court of Persia as an ambassador in 1777. After his father's death, Jawad Sabat's mother with the infant, barely five years old, was reduced to great straitened circumstance. With the infant in her lap, she went with a member of Sabat family to various places—al-Jazirat-al-Wāz, Abi-shahr, al-Jazira, and Basra. She died at the last-named place in 1794 and was buried at the burial ground of Imam Ali (may God's blessings be on him) when her son, Jawad was about twenty years old. It appears from the genealogical tree attached to the “Proofs,”

p. 227, that Ibrahim Sabat had three other sons, besides Jawad, viz., Khalil, Said, and Ibrahim, who were probably Jawad's step-brothers.

HIS EDUCATION.

On account of the sudden death of his father under tragic circumstances, the burden of Jawad Sabat's early training and education fell on his talented mother—Lady Shahrban. She herself taught her son the alphabets as well as the rules of grammar—inflection and syntax. Fatherless and poor, the son of a once Governor of Marva, Jawad had to go from place to place, with his accomplished mother, but as soon as he was old enough, he had to seek knowledge from the Arab scholars of his time. His education was not, I opine, systematic. In 1737 he acquired the rudimentary knowledge of Persian and of hand-writing from Mulla Sadiq al Bahbahani, at Abi-Shahr, a sea-port in the Persian Gulf, where Jawad had been with his mother. He learned the rules of prosody and rhyme in 1789 from Shaykh Abdullah Abi Dandan of Hasa, rhetoric and eloquence in 1790 from Ahmad ibn Hamid, also of Hasa; hadith, general law and law of inheritance in 1791 from Sayyad Abdullah al Haddad and Numan ibn Safar Afandi, at Basra; logic, metaphysics and science in 1792 from Muhammad Ghurab; and mysticism in 1793, from the holy Shaykh Abdul Jalil al Nabalsi, at Damascus. Up to now Jawad Sabat, so it appears, was more or less with his mother, and under her supervision. After her death, in the following year, there was an interruption in his education—which was, as appears from the above chronological account, spasmodic, and wanting in system. Years after, I think, he tried to rectify this defect by reading with an Indian scholar of Patna Sayyad Fadl 'Ali, Sarf-o-Nahv (Arabic grammar) in the year 1798 at Dacca, in Bengal, and a little of logic and jurisprudence in 1801, from another Indian, Maulavi Abdur-Rahman at Madras. He also read during his wanderings various other subjects from Shaykh Abdullah al Maghrabi, Shaykh Fadlullah ibn Isan al Hasavi, Maulavi Sa'ddar Ali Khan of Masulibandar. As a Christian, he used to teach the Rev. Henry Martyn, senior Wrangler of St. John's College Cambridge, at Danapur (Behar), Arabic and the Qurān, and Jawad used to improve his knowledge of

English which he had acquired in Madras, from Mr. Martyn. He read with various other persons.

HIS WANDERINGS IN INDIA AND OTHER PLACES.

As it will be seen from the foregoing account that Jawad Sabat was born at Marya in 1774. His father, Ibrahim Sabat, died at Kankaun in 1779 when Jawad was five years old, and his mother Shahrban, at Basra in 1794, when he was about twenty years. Up till his mother's death, he attended lessons in various subjects, given by several Scholars. In the "Sabatian proofs" he writes exultingly that he had travelled extensively. He does not give an itinerary of his travels throughout Asia in those books I have yet seen. He must have travelled, no doubt, in Southern Arabia as well as in other parts of the peninsula. It is on record that before he came to India, he had been to Kabul and Bukhara. In a learned poem, he mentions those places he had visited ; but it contains more of a young Arab's impulsive effusions, than sober facts, following in chronological order. The dates given of his writing or collecting the thirteen books of his "Man la Yahduruhunnadiim" show that, Jawad Sabat was at Basra in 1794 the year his mother died. In 1797 he was at Khujasta Bunyād, which is the name of Hyderabad (Deccan), and in Calcutta ; in 1800 at Akbarabad (Agra), and Danapur (near Patna) ; in 1803 and 1805 at Ishaqfatan (Vizagapatam) in the Madras Presidency ; in 1806 and 1811 at Madras ; in 1807 at Rajamandary in Madras, in which year Ahmad Shirwani (Jurji or Georgian of Sabat) met Jawad Sabat in Calcutta, according to the account published by the former. In 1807-8, Sabat was with Henry Martyn at Danapur and in 1809-10 at Cawnpore. According to his "Proofs" Sabat was at Dacca in the year 1798. The date of his writing a significant letter to the Shia Ulama of Iraq in the name of Mir Ashraf Ali is not mentioned, but it is probable that he wrote it in or about 1798 when he was at Dacca. The above dates are clear and probable, but I can not account for his writing a booklet at Dāka in 1792, when he was reading science elsewhere and his mother was alive. Either the date is incorrect, or the author means Dāka in Afghanistan or elsewhere, and not the

Daka (Dacca), in East Bengal. It will be seen that Jawad Sabat was with the missionaries in Calcutta, Serampur, Danapur, Cawnpur, etc., such as Messrs. David Brown, Thomas Thomason, Henry Martyn, Claudius Buchanan, and the Baptists, in the work of translation from 1807 to the end of 1814. His wanderings must therefore have extended from 1797 to 1815. At the beginning of the latter year he left Christianity and Calcutta.

He was greatly distressed, as he says, by seeing the condition of the Muslim society—Shias and Sunnis fighting on account of their religious differences, and calling each other heretics. As the Shias and Sunnis for all time, so the various other schismatic sects—the Ibaza and the Zayud and others—at one time or other have had their differences. The Muslim Scholars while discussing the views of the two schools of Philosophers—Ishraqyins and Mash-shayins (Platonists and Ontologists), or busying themselves in quibbles and wordly affairs or entirely devoting to God in the retreats, were one and all found to be unmindful of another and far greater danger that was threatening their very existence, both temporal and religious. This was the Christian propagandist. As with their Bible societies, missionaries and religious tracts, so with their questionable zeal and tactics, these Christians were determined to undermine the very existence of the rival faiths. Finding the situation very acute, the young Arab determined to mix with the Christian missionaries, became a convert to their faith, with the name of Nathaniel Sabat. He acquired a smattering of English, and requested to translate the Christian scriptures in the dialect of the Arabs. He entirely identified himself with the missionaries of the Church of England, as they were more dominant than others. His object was to learn the Christian rituals, beliefs, and dogmas, and to judge if these Christians were sincere in their faith, and what they believed was true and really the religion of Jesus of Nazareth, as revealed by God and testified to by the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad, may God's mercy be on him. He was busy in Bengal, where he resided for a very long time, and in Patna, Cawnpore, and elsewhere, in translating into Arabic and Persian the New Testament. He—as a great scholar and authority on Arabic and Persian

philology—was supposed by the Anglican missionaries with whom he worked to be indispensable to their work of translating—be it in Persian or Urdu. In this self-imposed task, Jawad, as he avows, was actuated by the highest motive of learning the secret of the modern Christianity and of refuting the same ultimately. He was greatly hampered by his masquerading as a Christian, his Arab pride, uncontrollable temper, and want of discretion.

HIS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.

The story of his conversion to Christian faith, as given by him, will remain incomplete if it be not supplemented by the Christian literature still extant. It is safe to assume that young Jawad Sabat wandered from one place to another, without aim and resource.

In May 1807 there arrived at Serampore an Arab, who was recommended to the missionaries by Dr. Ker, senior Chaplain at Madras. Lofty in stature, with a flowing black beard which gave additional dignity, and of noble extraction, Nathaniel Sabat was well received by the members of the Baptist Mission of the place. Dr. William Carey—writing of him on the 2nd June, after a week—says, that Sabat was sometime with the brethren Cran and Des Granges at Vizagapatam, and since that with brother Loveless at Madras. He was born, as he says, on the banks of the Euphrates, near Babylon, where his father then resided, and was sometime a Governor of the Vilayat Marya. Sabat was educated, as mentioned previously, in Arabia. He fled thence, according to the missionary account derived, no doubt, from Sabat himself, to avoid the persecution by the Wahhabis, then under the great Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab. In early manhood he and his friend Abdullah travelled through Persia and Afghanistan. After a visit to Mecca they went to Kabul. Abdullah entered the service of Zaman Shah. There an Armenian lent him an Arabic Bible. After reading it, Abdullah was converted to Christianity, and to avoid persecution, fled in disguise to one of the Christian Churches near the Caspian. At Bukhara Sabat, who had preceded him, at once recognised Abdullah in the street and betrayed him to Murad Beg, the saintly Amir of

Bukhara and was executed. Sabat wandered eastward. He came to India and obtained the office of an expounder of the Muhammadan law (Qadi) of Vizagapatam, a district on the Coromandel coast under the Madras Presidency, where he enjoyed a liberal allowance from Government. When the news reached his family in Arabia, his brother set out to destroy him, and disguised as an ascetic wounded him with a dagger as he sat in his house at Vizagapatam. There was reconciliation between them, probably, when the new-comer came to know of the real motive of Sabat's conversion. He left for Arabia with presents from Sabat. From Vizagapatam, he proceeded to Madras and presented himself to Dr. Ker, senior chaplain at Madras, by whom he was baptized and sent up to the missionaries at Serampore, in Bengal. It appears that Sabat became externally, and to the missionaries really, a Christian some years before he was baptized. The account of Abdullah's conversion and execution by the king of Bukhara and the subsequent conversion of Sabat himself to Christianity, as mentioned by Carey, Marshman, Canton, George Smith, should be compared with his own account after his re-conversion to Islam, and accepted with great caution. In order to ingratiate himself to the favour of the missionaries, he narrated the martyrdom of his friend and the story of his own conversion, with a pardonable exaggeration. What he told Dr. Carey, was not exactly what he said to Dr. Buchanan and others. The story of Abdullah's execution is not in Carey's letter, but it is in Buchanan's sermon, which he published under the designation of "Stars in the East." Marshman leaves out what happened to Sabat's friend in Bukhara, which Smith and Canton narrate in a most pathetic manner. For Jawad Sabat's own accounts which is, I think quite correct, I would refer the reader to the first part of this Review.

To proceed : Buchanan desired to transfer Persian translation of the New Testament to Henry Martyn at Danapur. The Serampore missionaries, without any appearance of hesitation, sent Nathaniel Sabat to Martyn, on a salary of Rupees 200⁰ to which the missionaries demurred.

Henry Martyn arrived in Calcutta in April 1806, and at Danapore, in October of the same year. The following

accounts of Sabat's participation in the translations will be found interesting :—

In 1807 Martyn was joined by Mirza Fitrat, a learned Hindustani scholar, who was proficient in English too. Sabat was also consulted regarding the use of Persian and Arabic words, but his evil temper greatly detracted from his usefulness.

New Testament in Arabic (1816). A new translation from the English by Nathaniel Sabat (a native Christian scholar, educated at Baghdad) under the supervision of Henry Martyn. Revised and edited by *Thomas Thomason* and published by the Calcutta corresponding committee of the B. T. B. S. The style adopted was intended to attract Eastern Muslims, who disliked the New Castle Bible of 1811; but its resemblance to the phraseology of the Quran rendered it unacceptable to the Arabic-speaking Christians.

The Oriental translation under the control of the Calcutta corresponding committee had in the meanwhile been greatly retarded. Sabat had seceded in the midst of his revision of the Arabic version. After a long absence he returned to the corresponding Committee's service late in 1813, and in the following autumn, the work having been completed, he was discharged at his own wish.

New Testament in Persian.—After examination of the version prepared by N. Sabat, under the supervision of Martyn, of which two specimen books had been printed in 1809, the Calcutta corresponding committee decided that, before any further portion could be published, considerable revision was necessary, mainly, on account of the excess of Arabic idioms in the version, and the undue elevation of its style. Thereupon Martyn decided to go to Persia.

From the above it will be seen that Sabat had very little to do with the Hindustani translation, which was published. His Persian translation was not accepted owing to excess of Arabic idioms and elevation of its style, only two specimen books were printed. His Arabic "version was published, after revision. The disapproval of the translation was owing to the criticism of the Georgian Ahmad.

The Calcutta Munshis of the College of Fort William, who were fellow-teachers of the Georgian, exposed the incorrectness of his Arabic, and that the translations were copies from some older versions.

The following account of Martyn and Sabat is extracted from the former's "life":—

Providentially for Mr. Martyn's comfort, his thoughts were much occupied . . . by the arrival of his Co-adjutors in the work of translation; one of them, Mirza (Fitrat) of Benares, the other Sabat, the Arabian, since but too well-known both in India and England, by his rejection of that faith, which he then appeared to profess in sincerity and truth. Martyn confidentially trusted him to be a Christian. As to his abilities Mr. Ker of Madras represented him as a man of good family in Arabia, as having been employed as an expounder of Muhammadan law at Vizagapatam, and as being well-skilled in the literature of his country. Mr. Martyn discovered in him an unsubdued Arab spirit. How could Martyn cherish any doubt when he beheld the tears he shed in prayers. On his arrival at Dina-pore, Sabat declared that the constant sin he found in his heart filled him with fear. I am Christian for 3 years. I am like a sheep that feeds happily, when I see the lion behind me I cannot eat. My life is of no value to me, the instability of the world has weaned me from it. My life is like a looking-glass fit to be moulded anew. Martyn observed to Brown, who had sent Sabat from Calcutta to Dina-pore that "not to esteem him a moment of grace and to love him, is impossible." And truly we will not hesitate in attributing to Sabat the guilt of a systematic and well concerted tissue of hypocrisy; and prefer to conclude that his judgment was at the time enlightened, and his heart impressed with what he believed. His temper was violent. The first Sunday after he reached Dina-pore on coming to Church he saw that the bearer removed his chair as belonging to another person. Conceiving that due respect was not shown him, he abruptly left the Church and returned home. He later confessed to Martyn that he had two dispositions; the one, his old one, which was soldier's, and the other a Christian's. Mr. Martyn was grieved at his spirit, as he made life a burden to him.

Sabat created himself enemies in every quarter by his jealous and passionate spirit, particularly among the servants. He was much given to contradict. He looked on the missionaries at Serampore as so many degrees below him in intellect. "I have," writes Martyn, "I think, led him to see that it is dangerous and foolish to attempt to prove the doctrine of the Trinity by reason, so he said, at that, he was perfectly able to do." Mirza happened to hear all Sabat's guerulous harangue, and in order to vex and disgust him effectually rode almost into his house and came with his shoes. This irritated the Arab. Writes Martyn: "I never saw a more remarkable contrast in two men than in Mirza and Sabat. One is all exterior, the other has no outside at all; one a most consummate man of the world, the other an artless child of the desert."

(1808). Henry Martyn was occupied in revising the sheets of the Hindustani version of the New Testament, which he had completed; he superintended the Persian translation, confided to Sabat; he gave himself to the study of Arabic, that he might be qualified to take part with Sabat in another version of the New Testament into that tongue. Says Martyn: In consequence of reading the Quran with Sabat audibly, and drinking no wine, the slander has gone forth among the Christians at Patna, that the Dinapore Padre has turned Mussulman. Sabat has kept me much upon the fret this week: when he had reached the next chapter, the idea seized him, that Mirza might receive some honour from his inspecting the work. He stopped immediately, and, say what I will, he determines not to give me the smallest help in correcting the Hindustani. To-day (May 31) we finish comparing (Persian version) St. Mathew with....., partly owing to the errors of the scribe....and partly on account of Sabat's anxiety to preserve the rhythm.... It is a new translation.

To-day (June 6) we have completed the Persian of St. Mathew, Sabat desired me to kneel down to bless God for the happy event, and we joined in praise of the Father of Lights. . . . Sabat is prodigiously proud of it. I wish some mistakes may not be found in it, to put him to shame. (June 7) Sabat is not a little proud of it (Persian transla-

tion of St. Mathew). Mirza returned yesterday and again there are symptoms of disgust in Sabat.

Sabat did not appear to advantage: instead of speaking about the gospel to Babir (Muhammad Babar Ali Khan) he was reciting poetry, particularly his own; and seemed more anxious to gain admirers than converts—he praised Sabat's Persian translation to the stars which I was glad to hear.

From Dinafore Sabat went with Henry Martyn to Cawnpore (1809-1810). The following pen-portrait of Sabat by Mrs Sherwood (given in George Smith's "Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar," p. 269) will be read with interest:—

Every feature in the large disk of Sabat's face was what we should call exaggerated. His eyebrows were arched, black, and strongly pencilled, his eyes dark and round, and from time to time flashing with unsubdued emotion, and ready to kindle into flame on the most trifling occasion. His nose was high, his mouth wide, his teeth large, and looked white in contrast with his bronzed complexion and fierce black mustachios. He was a large and powerful man, and generally a skull-cap of rich shawling, or embroidered silk, with circular flaps of the same, hanging over each ear. His large, lawny neck had no other covering than that afforded by his beard, which was black. His attire was a kind of jacket of silk, with long sleeves, fastened by a girelle, or girdle, about his lions, to which was appended a Jewelled dirk. He wore loose trousers and embroidered shoes. In the cold season, he threw over this a wrapper lined with fur, and when it was warmer the fur was changed for silk. When to this costume is added ear-rings and sometimes a golden chain, the Arab stands before you in a complete state of Oriental dandyism. This son of the desert never sat in a chair without contriving to tuck his legs under him on the seat, in attitude very like a tailor on his board. The only languages which he was able to speak were Persian, Arabic, and a very little bad Hindustani; but what was wanting in the words of this man was more than made up by the loudness with which he uttered them, for he had a voice like rolling thunder.

I would invite the reader's attention to the state of the Calcutta Muhammadan Society a century and more ago. There were Persian and Arab merchants in Calcutta, as well as Jewish, Armenian and Greek, besides Europeans, whom Jawad calls French (Francks). The Muslim merchants had dealings with European as well as Jews and Armenians. Each and all of them were dependent, in their business transactions, on each other, either as buyers or sellers, importers or exporters. The Nakhodas (owners of ships or merchants) of southern India, had trade dealings with Arabian coasts—Jedda, Hudayda, Basra and other towns on the Persian Gulf or Arabian sea. Among these men called in official publications of the time as Mughul Mahajans or merchants, occur in 1810, the names of the following :—Agha Muhammad Nizam Ali Khan, Ahmadullah Khan, Ghulam Muhyuddin, Hajji Hydar and Hajji Ahmad, Hajji Muhammad Ali; Muhammad Azim, Meeaun (Miyan) Ahmad Ali; Mir Akbar, Mir Ahmad, Mir Ishaq, Mir Akram Ali, Mir Muhammad Amin, Mir Muhammad Mehdi, Mir Muhammad Sadiq, Mirza Jaffar, Mirza Muhammad Ali, Shaykh Ghulam Husayn. Of these the names of some occur in 1817 and of the last occur in 1822 and after.

The charges preferred by Jawad Sabat against some of these have been noted in Part I. These may be classified as under : Slave trade, or importing Arab male and female slaves from Arabia and Africa and selling them to Jews, Christians and Hindus; consulting a soothsayer about the safe arrival or departure of ships with cargo; indulgence in unlawful or non-Muslim trades or ceremonies; speaking against or taunting Muslim rulers and wishing ill of Muslims. Of these charges, the most serious and unheard of now-a-days, is the issue of invitation cards on the occasion of Bengali-Hindu puja called, Durga Puja in October-November with the words "Sri Sri Durgaji" on the top, after the manner of the Hindus. The pilgrimage to Karbala was likened to Durga worship. The Arab Shaykhs, Imams and holy men of Islam were not only spoken slightly, but their downfall by the Christian powers was wished for and discussed with Christians. An elderly professor of sorcery was greatly patronised and consulted and few depended on God for the safety of his merchandise to distant

ports. Wine and intoxicating liquors were imported, publicly sold and adulterated, and its legality on certain condition was defended. On receipt of the intelligence of peace or reconciliation among European powers, houses were illuminated in an extravagant manner, and public women and dancing girls and objectionable musicians were invited in marriages and circumcisions and other social and religious functions. When remonstrated with the Muslim merchants often uttered blasphemous words against Islam, God, Muhammad, and his companions, in a most provoking manner. Slave girls were torn away from their homes, and sold to unbelievers, in spite of their tears, wails and profession of Islamic creed. The sum total of these painful stories which Sabat has narrated and reiterated with dates and circumstantial evidence shows clearly the decadence of Islamic beliefs and Islamic civilization. The young Arab was discredited by the Georgian Ahmad at once before the Christian missionaries, and professors of the College of Fort William, in which he served as reader and writer of Arabic primers in prose and verse, and to Muhammadan merchants.

Ahmad Shirwani whom Sabat nicknamed as Jurji or Georgian has in fact no pretension to be of Arab descent. The full name which he has published in his primers was Shaykh Ahmad ibn Muhammad al Ansari al Yamani ash Shirwani—which signifies that Ahmad was the son of Muhammad of Yaman, but originally of Shirwan. The real fact is that *Mirza* Ahmad was the son of *Mirza* Muhammad *Taqi*, son of Muhammad Ali Khan, son of *Mirza* Ibrahim Hamadani. The words italicised he omits, and puts Shaykh for Mirza, making it perfectly an Arab name. Ahmad's great grand-father, Mirza Ibrahim, was a minister of Nadir Shah. Nadir having killed Ibrahim's son, the family fled. Ahmad's father settled at Shirwan, a city in Georgia or Transoxania, in Iran, changed his name to Muhammad. He came to India, went to Lucknow, and returned to Shirwan. When he arrived at the port of Hudayda in Yaman, Muhammad Taqi married the daughter of Sayyad Haydar, merchant of Baghdad. Mirza or Shaykh Ahmad was an Imamiya, or Shia, but this, it appears, he and his father did not give out. There

is nothing in this for Ahmad to be ashamed of. But neither he nor his near predecessors were Arabs. Haydar was, according to Sabat, a Jurji, like Taqi, and dallal or broker at Hudayda, and, therefore, Ahmad was not an Arab, nor had he any great pretension to Arabic Scholarship. What was the cause of the enmity between these two Muslims both respectably connected, one an Arab of al-Jazira, the other a Persian of Transoxania? After reading the references made by Sabat about the Georgian, and Ahmad Shirwani's mention of Jawad in the "*Nafahāt'ul-Yaman fīmā Yazulu bi Zikrihish Shajan*," I come to the following conclusion. The quarrel arose first owing to the bad temper of Jawad Sabat. He showed his temper at Scampore, where he wrote to Mr. Udy under his signature "Nathaniel Sabat, a free Arab never was in bondage." He showed his evil temper at Dinapore, with regard to Mirza Fitrat and Heny Martyn. It is therefore most probable that owing to his temper and pride, he alienated not only the Georgian, whom he had once patronised, but also the whole Muslim community—the merchants, the Ulama and others. Secondly, his sincerity as to his religious belief—whether he was really a Muhammadan or Christian, a Shia or Sunni—was doubted both by Muslims and Christians. Thirdly, Sabat disclosed his real motive to every Muslim including Ahmad, and at the same time quarrelling with him. As time went by, the matter grew serious. Shirwani was angry that Sabat wanted to deprive him of his berth at the College, by telling every body that he was not an Arab and scholar. Fearing that this would humiliate him he retaliated by disclosing that Sabat was not a Christian, but a sycophant, who wanted to make money from the missionaries, and spend it and live among the Muslims as a Musalman. Sabat is very bitter on Ahmad, for the remarks he had made in his book about the former. But if we judge dispassionately they are not after all so very unfair. It, however, did little injury to Sabat, and was not subversive of his plan. Ahmad as a shrewd man was in the good book of the professors of the College of Fort William, and through them to other Europeans. He was, as I have heard, in the employ of a leading merchant, named Shaykh Ghulam Husayn, who in fact brought him to Calcutta from Arabia. This merchant known in Calcutta

up to now as Ghulam Husayn Saudagar, the person, whom Sabat, I believe, frequently refers to, as one of the leading merchants, who befriended Ahmad Shirwani. It is true that Sabat's knowledge of Arabic and Persian was overestimated by the missionaries. But George Smith's insinuation that Sabat renounced Christianity owing to the exposure of incorrectness of his translation is grotesque and unsupported.

HIS DEPARTURE FROM CALCUTTA—HIS DEATH—A REVIEW OF HIS WORK.

The reason of Jawad Sabat's abrupt departure from Calcutta has been told by him. When Ahmad, the Georgian, and other merchants, at his instigation, were determined to haul the eccentric Arab up to court, he quietly left Bengal, with Khalfan ibn Sa'id al 'Azadi in 1227 H (1812) and left for home, without being able to fulfil his secret wish of publishing the refutation of Christianity.

On Martyn's departure for Persia, according to missionary account, Sabat was engaged in Calcutta by the corresponding Committee. After a while he renounced Christianity before the Muhammadan Qadi, embarked as a merchant for the Persian Gulf. The appearance of Sabat's wealth excited the cupidity of the crew, and when the ship put in at Tellicherry, he swam ashore, obtained the protection of the English Judge, and got his merchandise landed. This is at variance, to some extent, with Sabat's own account. The Judge who had read Buchanan's "The Star in the East" recognised Sabat. The latter admitted his identity, but denied betrayal. At his recommendation, Sabat came back to Calcutta in the corresponding committee's service, late in 1813. He resigned his post, renounced Christianity, published his "Sabatian Proofs of the truth of Islam" and left Calcutta. He wandered to various places in India, and went to Penang. The Muhammadan king of Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, being driven from his throne by a usurper, came to Penang to seek arms and provisions. Jawad Sabat offered the royal fugitive his services, which were accepted and accompanied him to Acheen. There Sabat acquired power and influence, and was regarded by the rebels as their enemy.

Being taken prisoner by the insurgents, he was sewn or tied up in a sack and thrown into the sea. It is stated that Colonel MacInnes' efforts to obtain his pardon were in vain. There can be no doubt that he died a Muslim, though he might have endeavoured to save his life by writing letters with his own blood.

Thus ended the life of one of the most extraordinary men of the last century, for resourcefulness, for daring, for intelligence. Had he been a little mild-tempered, less given to wild speculations, more accommodating, he might have found the Georgian, the merchants, the priests, and the general public, more friendly towards him. The Missionaries found in him an unsubdued Arab spirit. The Muslims did not like a man, who was a Christian, and for them it was difficult to believe what he really intended to do. He deceived Mr. Ker at Madras, who baptized him; he deceived Dr. William Carey of Serampore, and still more David Brown, Clandius Buchanan, and Henry Martyn, by his apparent sincerity and truth. They believed in his high birth, his scholarship and his intellectual attainments, as the first scholar of the age. Buchanan went so far as to deliver a sermon in England on Sabat's romantic conversion, which he published under the title of "The Star in the East." The missionaries, as well as the Civil and Military officers of the time, tolerated him, in spite of the rumour against his sincerity and faith. It is, I dare-say, owing to his bad temper that the people of Acheen, murdered him in a most revolting manner. It is again for this and for his unsteady character that Ahmad Shirwani turned from a friend to be his bitterest foe. It was he that raised suspicion in the mind of all, ultimately driving him away from Bengal, and causing the translation of the scripture to be practically rejected.

Having said so much, I must say that in spite of his eccentricities, his unsteadiness, the wild Arab *Savant* did really a service to Islam, by drawing the attention of the Muslims to the state of their faith, and the political and national dangers that were threatening them. He clearly discerned the trouble, and warned his Muslim friends and countrymen, of the consequences of the negligence of their duties. He warned the many sects of Islam to take

note of the coming catastrophe. He warned the Arab Shaykhs and chiefs to be less apathetic and more vigilant. It is true that Jawad Sabat is very unintelligible in his expressions and the use of language. His language is unnecessarily too elevated, his prose too tedious, his verses too stiff, as his rival Ahmad Shirwani has drawn his reader's attention to. But the service which Sabat has rendered to the cause of Islam by publishing his "Proofs" cannot be exaggerated. As a fair critic, we do complain of his temper; but cannot but appreciate his great contribution to the controversial literature about Islam and Christianity. Before him, some attempts had been made by Arabs and other Muslims on this controversial subject, but it was reserved for this wandering Arab to present to the world a complete work, carefully compiled, printed secretly, at a press especially set up by him for the purpose and at his own expense, in the midst of persecution, and mistrust by his own fellow-countrymen and co-religionists, and by the European community at large—priest and layman—at the eminent peril of his life and honour. It was he that had the work carefully got up, bound and distributed to the Muslim countries and people free of charge.

ALTERATION OF THE BIBLE.

It is worth while to examine some of Jawad Sabat's arguments and proofs. I am unable to do it and leave it to some other scholars—more capable than myself. The author believes that the scriptures have been altered and mutilated, and their meaning misinterpreted. But taking them for the sake of argument, to be authentic, he extracts verses from the authoritative English version of the Bible, published by order of King James I. of England. As a specimen I may extract from Sabat's "Muqaddamat'ul-kitāb" or prolegomina, pp. 17-21, the following one argument.

The undermentioned verses from the Quran are quoted :

"Do you then hope that they would believe in you, and a party from among them indeed used to hear the word of God, then altered it after they had understood it, and they know (it)."

"Woe, then, to those who write the book with their

hands and then say, This is from God, so that they may take for it a small price ; therefore woe to them for what their hands have written, and woe to them for what they earn."

" Of those who are Jews alter words from their places," etc.

The above and other verses support the corruption of the text and the false rendering of the scriptures. St. Mathew, chapter XXVII, verses 9, 10, has the following : Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy, the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value ; and gave them for the potter's field. as the Lord appointed me.

The above verses are ascribed by St. Mathew to Jeremy, the prophet. I have, says Sabat, read the Book of Jeremy in the old Arabic, and in English translation, as well in the original Hebrew, but could not find in it anything of the kind. I questioned about it to several scholars. Rev. Mr. Thomason admitted that this was through the carelessness on the part of the Scribe, on the supposition that Jeremy was but another name of Zechariah. According to Buchanan, Marterus, and Caracus, Mathew did not consult books, and thought it to be written in the Book of Jeremy. The Jews whom I consulted said : This is to be found only in the book of Zechariah, and nowhere. This is an alteration and corruption which has not been noticed. If Mathew's is God's words, it is impossible that there can be an error or omission. It is impossible that Mathew copied from Jeremy, and Jeremy did not mention it, for Jeremy preceded Mathew in time. If it be said that Mathew wrote what was false, it is preposterous. If the Jews altered the text of Jeremy, then alteration is proved in the Old Testament by *Omission* ; if the Christians altered the text of Mathew, then alteration is proved by *addition*.

As to Jeremy having two names, viz., Jeremy and Zechariah and hence there being indifference on the part of St. Mathew, I would say this was not so, as will be seen in the following case. Mathew, Chapter II, verse 17 :— Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy, the

prophet, saying : That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene. This is to be found in Jeremy, Chap. XXXI, verse 15. Here there was no confusion or mistake in the name of Jeremy. Mathew was the chief of the apostles and could he make any mistake ? Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that the "Gospel according to St. Mathew" was altered. All the authorities have testified as to who Jeremy was, whose identity could not be mistaken or confounded. It is not reasonable to ascribe the mistake to the scribe. Whereas, the Quran is intact for the last 1,814 years. As globular excrement supposes the presence of the camel, as foot indicates walking, so it is reasonable to suppose that the scriptures are mutilated either by addition or omission.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM.

It is to be regretted that since the dawn of Christianity till now the question of the glorious Christian faith has been misunderstood by the Jews and since the birth of the Arabian Prophet, the conflict between Islam, Judaism and Christianity has continued unabated. It is doubtful, if the Christians have fully and correctly grasped the religion of the Jews. It is not settled if the books which include the New and Old Testaments truly represent the glorious faith that was preached by Christ and his apostles. Discussions on the subject between Jews and Christians, between Christians and Muslims, between Christians and Christians, have driven from the earth peace and contentment. Empires have been subverted, people have been made miserable, good neighbourly relations have been disturbed. For what ? If one will carefully inquire into the genesis of these international quarrels and differences, he will see that it is because the priestly classes have not correctly understood their religions, and induced sovereigns, statesmen, politicians, and generals, to stir up strife. I wish here to briefly refer to some of the differences in modern India and in recent years, between Christianity and Islam.

Every one is aware with what zeal and tenacity the late Sir William Muir of the Indian Civil Service, and at one time Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces,

'defended Christianity against Islam. We not only owe to him his "Life of Mahomet," but a series of Essays published in the "Calcutta Review," since reprinted under the title of "The Mohammedan controversy." Though one may complain of his bitterness, but he is a very plain-speaking writer. The following extract will show at once the Christian sentiment toward Islam from the very beginning. This is from an Essay which appeared in 1845, on a review of Dr. Pfander's apologies for the Christian faith. Pfander's *Mizan-ul-Haqq* and other works are described, and the debates that gave rise to with Muslim scholars—Sayyad Rahmat Ali, Muhammad Kazim Ali, Sayyad Ali Hasan son of Sayyad Dildar Ali, the Mujtahid, and Sayyad Muhammad Hadi, nephew of Ali Hasan, and others. Says Muir :—

"Mohammedanism is perhaps the only undisguised and formidable antagonist of Christianity. From all the varieties of heathen religions, Christianity has nothing to fear, for they are the passive exhibition of gross darkness which must vanish before the light of the Gospel. But in Islam we have an active and powerful enemy ;—a subtle usurper, who has climbed into the throne under pretence of succession, and seized upon the forces of the crown to supplant its authority. It is just because Mohammedanism acknowledges the divine original, and has borrowed so many of the weapons of Christianity, that it is so dangerous an adversary. The length, too, of its reign, the rapidity of its early conquests, and the iron grasp with which it has retained and extended them, the wonderful tenacity and permanent character of its creed—all combine to add strength to its claims and authority to its arguments.

"When the first tide of Mohammedan invasion set in towards the West, its irresistible flood seemed about to overwhelm the whole of Europe and extinguish every trace of Christianity just as its proud waves were repelled by the Pyrenees; but though Europe as a whole, successfully resisted the attack, yet Mohammedan settlements continued for centuries in various quarters to exist upon it. Again, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Europe poured forth her millions into the East the Crusaders established for a length of time in Syria and the Holy Land, a succession of posts which in the end were gradually swept

away by Moslem arms. And finally in the fifteenth century the closing conquest of Constantinople and establishment of the Turkish empire with its extended frontier towards Hungary and Italy, confirmed and perpetuated the last and most intimate relations which have taken place between Europe and Islam.

"Here, then, we have a long period of twelve centuries, during which Christianity has been in contact with her moral foe; while upon three marked occasions that foe was the grand object of her hopes and fears. It would have been natural, therefore, to expect that Christian Europe would have entered the lists not merely with the sword and with the shield. We might have anticipated that her learned divines and apologists would have advanced to the combat clad in the celestial armour of the Gospel; and that Rome besides pouring forth the martial bands of Christendom, would have strenuously and unremittingly applied its hosts of learned monks and ecclesiastics to overcome the adversary with such spiritual weapons as would better have suited the sacred contest. The banners of Islam approached close to the papal See; and the Crescent, almost within sight of Imperial Rome, shone brightly upon Spain, Turkey, and Sicily. Might we not then have hoped that its inauspicious rays would have waned before the transcendent glory of the Sun of Righteousness? How fallacious were such expectations we learn, indeed, that "in later times, when, in the vicissitudes of military adventure, the arms of the Mohammedan were found to preponderate, some faint attempts were made, or meditated, to convince those whom it proved impossible to subdue;" and again, that, "in 1285, Honorius IV. in order to convert the Saracens strove to establish at Paris schools for Arabic and other Oriental languages. The council of Vienna, in 1312, recommended the same method: and Oxford, Salamanca, Bologna, as well as Paris, were places selected for the establishment of the professorships. But the decree appears to have remained without effect until Francis I, called it into life" (1 Waddington's History of the Church). And where are the marks and effects of this feeble and tardy resolution? As far as practical controversy is concerned, they are buried in obscurity. Learned works upon the Arabic tongue,

'translations from its authors, or at best, dissertations and commentaries which too often fight with the air, and sometimes betray gross ignorance of the real views and tenets of Islam, are all that remain. The dominion of the false Prophet needed to fear but little from such contemptible efforts, which, even had they been known to his followers, would most probably have served only to confirm them in their unbelief. In truth, the spirit of the age was adverse to any spiritual success. Clogged and obscured by error, the Church, as well in the East as in the West, had abandoned her vantage ground, and what but defeat and dishonour were to be looked for? We are not prepared, indeed, to say that the entire labours of the Christian world, from the time of Mohammed to the Reformation, were of this futile character. On the contrary, we believe that devoted Christians, during this interval, frequently and with zeal attempted the conversion of the Mussulmans; but it is a melancholy reflection that we have not a single account of their success, or of any beneficial effects resulting from their efforts. We find, it is true, in the twelfth century, the eastern Emperor erasing from his creed the anathema against the god of Mohammed, as likely to offend those Mohammedans who had embraced, or were disposed to embrace, Christianity; but, except for such transient hints, we should hardly be aware that the controversy was going on;—no *fruits* at least give token of vitality."

The following are from Claudio Buchanan's "Memoir of the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India," London, 1805. The first para being from the Dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the next para from the Introduction.

"Under the auspices of Marquis Wellesley, who by favour of Providence, now presides in the Government of India, a version of the holy scriptures may be expected, not in one language alone, but in seven of the Oriental Tongues."

"By the reduction of the Mysorean and Mahratta empires, the greater part of India falls under the dominion or influence of the British Government, and looks submissively to British civilization. Our extensive territorial acquisitions within the last few years, our recent triumph over our

only formidable foe ; the avowed consequence of India in relation to the existing state of Europe ; Our character of our situation seems to mark the present era as that intended by Providence, for our taking into consideration the moral and religious state of our subjects in the East ; and for Britain's bringing up her long arrear of duty and setting her account honourably with her Indian Empire."

The opinion of Muslims which the apologists have advanced is not new. What the Quran says, what the Muslims believe, are shared more or less by some Jews, Christians and European *savants* about the genuineness and authenticity of the Bible Books. One school says that the various books were *originally* written wholly or chiefly by the persons, whose names are affixed to them. The original manuscripts of the Old Testament perished in the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, when Nebuchadnezzar took the city, and they were re-written later. The Pentateuch has passed through many editions, of which the present one is not the earliest. The books of Genesis and Exodus comprise the later day Jewish traditions. Historians treat the narratives as they treat Livy and Herodotus—accepting or rejecting them, on the principle of historical criticism. The Samaritans recognised the five books of Moses. The Egyptian Jews received as canonical several writings which were rejected or subordinated as apocryphal. On account of the prevalent ignorance of the Hebrew and Chaldeic language, the Alexandrian Greek version of the Old Testament was the authority employed.

Books rejected as apocryphal were received as canonical subsequently. The Apostleship of St. Paul was denied by those who were anathematised as heretics. The notices found in Barnabas, Clemens, Romanus, Ignatius, and Polycarp do not, however, demonstrate the existence of written Gospels. Epistles were written to particular Churches. None of the early writers name the authors from whom they quote. The Tülingen school contend that these apostolic memoirs could not have been the canonical Gospels, but must rather have been the primitive evangelical record, out of which the canonical Gospels were formed. Doubts have been expressed as to the authenticity of the Hebrews. The opinion of Eichhorn, De Wette and others, is that while

the books circulated singly in a sphere of uncertain authority, they were greatly corrupted. The council of Trent declared that whoever denied the canonical character of the Apocrypha, should be anathema. Luther says of some of these that the "books are not to be placed in a level with the canonical scriptures ; but profitable for reading."

The above is but a brief note of the opinion of several schools of thoughts of Christian people. Some of these Christian divisions mutually antagonistic, deny to each other the name of Christian and the hope of salvation. To a Muslim neither Moses, nor Jesus was an originator of any new faith, but the preacher and propagator of the same divine and ancient faith to which all good men and true at one time or other belonged. The prophet of Arabia proclaimed that "I am a man like unto you, inspired." To a Muslim, therefore, there is no difference between the religion of the Jews and of the Christians and of Muhammad—it is Islam, the true, the unalterable Islam. All the prophets had been but men, none of them God. To this simple and rational religion, the prophet of Islam called the people, idolators and non-idolators, Jews and Christians.

The writer in the Encyclopaedia Britannica says : that by transference of Christianity from the Jewish to the Greek-Roman World again various elements were taken into it. We might consider the Greek and Roman civilization as the permanent element. The Greek-Roman converts took over with them the presuppositions of their older world view, and thus formed the moulds into which the Christian truth was run. Here again, the pre-Christian elements so asserted themselves as to obscure the new and distinctive teaching of Christianity. It is therefore, that the Muslims that came after five centuries after Christianity was promulgated, stoutly refused to be drawn into it. They were not alone, some of the Christian sects were one or nearly one with Muslims in doubting the dogma of the various Churches.

Islam, according to the same writer, "may be regarded indeed as a form of Christianity, for it is not more foreign, perhaps, to the prevailing type than are some sects which claim the same." The Muslims call the Jews and Christians

possessors of Divine Books, nevertheless assert that the present Judaism and Christianity are not the true types of the Divine religion, which Moses taught and Jesus preached. They have even doubted if the Gospels in their present form and scope are the real Gospels. The various Councils and Synods that have been convened from the time of the Apostles have their doubts and misgivings. If these councils could term some of the books apocryphal and spurious, cannot the Muslims say the very same thing about some of the Gospels, which have been accepted as canonical and authentic—not at once, but gradually and after long intervals? Muhammadans doubt if Jesus Christ ever claimed to be God. He was like Abraham, Moses, a prophet. His teachings were divine, but he was no divinity. If Jesus were God, he was so in the same sense as every God's creature is a part of the Universal soul (Jan-i-Alam), as the Sufis and pantheistic doctors would say.

The doctrine of the Trinity according to Muslims is no part of Christianity. It is nowhere to be met with in the present scriptures. The notion of Triad or Trinity is by no means peculiar to one religion. In Buddhism there is *Tri-ratna* (three Jewels), viz., Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha (Buddha, religion, and Church). In Jainism the Trinity takes the form of Deva, Shastra, and Guru (God, religion and priest). The Hindu Trinitarian group—Brahma, Visnu and Siva—signifies the universal forces of creation, preservation, and destruction. In Egyptian religion the Trinity of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, constitute a distinctive family, like the Father, Mother and son in Medieval Christian pictures. According to the "Encyclopædia of Religion and science," one recalls in particular the Neo-Platonic view of the supreme Ultimate Reality which was suggested by Plato—as World-Soul or the One and Many. But the Christians make the Trinity a part of their creed, and insist that no one can be a Christian unless he believes in it. But I may say that though the Trinity forms the cardinal point of their faith, it is but a schism to the primitive and real faith. According to the Christians, there is one person of the Father, another of the son, another of the Holy Ghost, but the Godhead of the Father, of the son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one. This I, daresay, is a doctrine, an allegory,

introduced from outside, and is not the part of real and early faith. For, what Christ preached, was in accordance with the early Prophets and no trace of the Trinity is to be found in their books and writings. Christ's resurrection and the doctrine of atonement is also foreign to the primitive faith. These and few such beliefs found in their books or rituals have made the world reluctant to believe in Christianity and in the authenticity of their scriptures. Give up these doctrines and the Muslims and non-Muslims will be one with you. The Christian priests can not explain them. So what they commonly do is to introduce a subject, argue on it very clearly and often cogently, then at last come to the point of the Christian Trinity, Christ's blood, his resurrection, etc. You may argue, you may very clearly and cautiously come to your real object, but no Muslim, no Brahman, will be convinced by such arguments.

CONCLUSION.

I must now close this Review. It would be a grand and I hope a pious thing for the world if the unfortunate differences might be obliterated from the surface of the earth. The Bible societies and other societies have multiplied their publications, but could we not as Muhammadans approach the study of the comparative religion in a different guise than hitherto? Can not the Christians also do the same—not in the spirit of the previous centuries? Can not a few Christians,—not the ecclesiastics, and a few Musalmans—not the bigoted fanatics, discuss the real facts and differences of their different religions—which in my humble opinion and in that of other writers and thinkers is but one and the same faith-pervading the whole universe, coming down from the very beginning? I would suggest to my Muslim countrymen.—

(1) That some scholar should re-publish Jawad Sabat's work "al-Barabinus-Sabatia," or Sabatian proofs, removing the typographical and other errors. The verses from the English translation of the Bible written in Arabic character should be printed according to the approved transliteration system, and the same should be printed also in the English character with explanatory notes at the foot. Sabat has the

habit of referring to one verse and quoting more, or sometime quoting parts of verses. This should be rectified. The extraneous subjects introduced by the author should be relegated to the end of the re-print as appendices. (2) That the book and similar books should be rendered accessible to the Muslim public by translation in Urdu and other Vernaculars. (3) That they should be taught in Muslim Universities and to young scholars. (4) That they should be translated in English for Muslim students and others, who wish to study the subject in English. (5) That the Anjumans and Muslim publicists should sell the books or their translations cheap or distribute them free.

APPENDICES

I.

[From A History of British and Foreign Bible Society by William Canton, London, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 289-90.]

Few pages in biography are more tragic, more pitiful, more startling, than those which describe the career of Sabat, "the first Arabic Scholar of the age" and the son of a noble family who traced their lineage to Mohammed. In early manhood, he, and his friend, Abdullah, travelled through Persia and Afghanistan. They parted at Cabul where Abdullah was appointed to an office of state. By a simple reading of the Bible this young Arab was converted from Islam and knowing that death was the penalty of such a change of faith, he determined to flee in disguise to one of the Christian Churches near the Caspian. In the street of Bokhara he was recognised by Sabat, who had heard of his conversion and flight and who ruthlessly betrayed him to the king, Murad Shah. He was offered his life if he would abjure Christianity. On his refusal one of his hands was severed at the wrist. To a second offer, he made no answer, but looked with streaming eyes steadfastly up to heaven, like Stephen the first martyr, "He did not look with anger to me," said Sabat, "He looked at me but it was benignly, and with the countenance of forgiveness." His other hand was then cut off ; but he never changed ! And when he bowed his head to receive the blow of death, all Bokhara seemed to say, "What new thing is this ?" Haunted by remorse, Sabat wandered eastward, seeking rest and finding none. In the Madras Presidency, he obtained a Government appointment as Professor of Mohammedan Law at Vizagapatam. Apparent discrepancies in the Koran led him to compare it with the New Testament, with the result that he became convinced of the truth of Christianity. Bitter persecution from the Moslem followed ; his life was attempted by his own brother ; and he was forced to seek refuge at Madras, where he made a public profession of faith and baptized. He was now recommended to an appoint-

ment as a translator in Calcutta, and after a while was sent on to Mr. Martyn at Dinafore and Cawnpore, but his failings were overlooked on account of his great merits as an Arabic scholar.

So far the story has long been made familiar by Dr. Buchanan's account in *The Star in the East* and one could wish it had no sequel. On Martyn's departure for Persia, Sabat was engaged in Calcutta by the Corresponding Committee; but after a while he neglected his duties and at last renounced Christianity before the Mohammedan Cadi. He embarked as a merchant for the Persian Gulf, but the appearance of his wealth excited the cupidity of the crew, and when the ship put in at Tellecherry he swam ashore, obtained the protection of the English Judge, and got his merchandise landed. The Judge who had read *The Star in the East*, recognised Sabat. The latter admitted his identity but denied the betrayal, professed repentance for his apostasy, and so interested the Judge that the latter obtained his conditional reinstatement at Calcutta. Once more he recanted, published *Sabatian Proof of the Truth of Islamism*, and went to Penang *. While there, he again professed repentance, lamented the injury done by his book, expressed his desire as far as possible to undo its effects and his wish once more to return to Christianity; yet at the same time he continued to frequent the mosque with the Mohammedan population. But his end was approaching. The king of Acheen, being driven from his throne by a usurper came to Penang, to seek arms and provisions. Sabat offered the royal fugitive his services, which were accepted, and accompanied him to Acheen. There Sabat acquired such power and influence that he was regarded by the rebels as their greatest enemy, and being taken prisoner, was

* Writing to the *Penang Gazette* on March 7, 1816, Sabat wrote that in March, 1816 he read the speeches made concerning himself and the book he had published, in the *Calcutta Mirror*. He writes: By reason of a quarrel between Mr. Thomason and myself....I returned to Calcutta....Instigated by extreme violence of anger and thinking the persons against whom I was angry, would be most troubled by my speaking against Christianity, I immediately wrote and published my book—neither speaking against any man nor abusing them, etc.—*Extracts from the Asiatic Journal, Vol. III.*, p. 72.

treated with ruthless severity and finally was sewn up in a sack and thrown into the sea.

II

[From the life and times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, embracing the Serampore Mission, by John Clark Marshman, in 2 Vols, London 1859, Vol. I, p. 297.]

In the course of this year, (1807) Nathaniel Sabat, arrived at Serampore with a letter of introduction to the missionaries, from Dr. Ker, the senior chaplain, at Madras. He was an Arab of noble extraction, and claimed the distinction of being directly connected with the family of the prophet. After various adventures in Central Asia of a very romantic character, he came to India, and obtained the situation of expounder of Muhaminadan law in the Civil court of Vizagapatam, a district in the Coromandel coast, under the Madras Presidency, where he enjoyed a liberal allowance from Government. The perusal of the New Testament and a comparison of the doctrine contained in it with those of the Koran led him to renounce his hereditary creed and embrace Christianity. By the change of faith, his position in the court was rendered disagreeable and he proceeded to Madras and presented himself to Dr. Ker by whom he was baptized and sent up to the missionaries at Serampore that he might enjoy the benefit of Christian instruction and society, and be able to turn his knowledge of Arabic and Persian to account in the translation. He was very well received by the missionaries who explained to him the simple economical principles of their establishment and offered to receive him into the family. He was a man of lofty stature and as haughty in his demeanour as might have been expected in one who traced his pedigree to Mahomed; while a flowing black beard gave additional dignity to his appearance. He dismissed his two Arab attendants, dined at the common table and gave up his time and attention to the translation of the scriptures. Buchanan desired to transfer Persian translation to Martyn at Dinapore. The Serampore missionaries without any appearance of hesitation sent Sabat to Martyn on a salary of Rupees two hundred, to which the missionaries demurred. Buchanan published a sermon designated "The Star in the

East." Sabat wrote an angry letter to Mr. Udy as signed "Nathaniel Sabat, a free Arab, never was in bondage." He subsequently wandered to various places in India and took service some years later with the Musulman chief of Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, where he encountered a temper as overbearing as his own; and having given umbrage to his master, was barbarously hacked and his body thrown into the sea.

III

[Extract from a letter by William Carey to Mr. Sutcliff, dated Serampore, June 2, 1807, from "Periodical Accounts relating to the Baptist Missionary Society," Vol. III, p. 351.]

Last week an Arabian came hither from Madras recommended from a respectable quarter. He has embraced the Christian religion, and I hope, may have felt its power. He was sometime with the brethren Cran and Des Granges at Vizagapatam, and since that with brother Loveless at Madras. He is of the family of Mahomed. He has a pedigree regularly written out, after the manner of the Arabians. He was born on the banks of the Euphatres, near Babylon, where his father then resided; had his education in Arabia; and fled from thence, to avoid sword and the doctrine of Wahhabine, whom he personally knows. Since then he has been in a high office, in the court of Zeman Shaw, king of Kabool. There he saw one of his companions, who had embraced Christianity, Abdullah by name. This man whose family name Sabot, was first brought out to think by reading the Koran, in which he found something that appeared to him contradictory. He wrote to a gentleman at Madras on the subject, who sent an Arabic New Testament, which he carefully read; and the more he read the more light sprung up in his mind. He resided several years in Persia, and is a very accomplished scholar in Persian and Arabic. He is now assisting us in the Persian translation.

IV.

In the following poem of 32 couplets, Sabat mentions the places he visited during his travels. In it the poet boasts of his high birth, his eminence from the cradle, of the nobility of his ancestors, his connection with Iraq and its

people, his extensive travels East and West, in valleys and table-lands. He started from the (Mount) Judi to the Holy-land up to Mecca, then to Yamama in Najd ; to Syria, to the Bahrayn, to the upland ; from the territory of Bani-K'ab to the home of the Kurd ; from Aleppo till he entered the plains of Persia, up to Kaltata (? Calcutta) ; then China to Samarqand ; to San aa to the extremity of Constantinople ; from Kabul to the end of Sindh. He speaks good of the inhabitants of all lands except the people of India.

* و قلت فيما فاسِب الحال و هو من حُرّ الكلام و بديعه *

فسوت من الجودى الى ارض طيبة
 الى مكة ثم اليمامة من نجد
 الى الشام فالبعرين سعيا الى العلي
 و ارض بني كعب الى خطة الكرد
 و من حلب حتى انطوط قاع فارس
 الى كلنت فالصين حتى سمرقند
 و منعا الى مافوق قسطنطينية
 و من كابل حتى انتهيت الى السند
 و كنت عزيزا في مسيري عكراً
 احاكي هلال العيد في الزمن الرغد
 بخالطني من كل ارض مريضها
 و عن كل قوم قرنها النافع المردى
 فلم ار ذوبعى ذماماً و خلة
 سرواي و ذومهما يهدى بالوعد
 و لم افت في سيري هما ما صرفا
 حسودى الى ان صرت في خطة الهند
 فلم ابق فيها بقعة لم اعج بها
 و لا ملجاً يلنجي و لا منداً يندى
 فلام ارمن يذني قرأ لوفدة
 اذا مللت الاضيف فى الزمن الجدى
 و لم يك في ارض المند سوى الاذى
 و ما يخرج الانسان عن حيطة العد
 لعمرك ان الهند ارض مشومة
 بيه اسوة ملا تضل ولا تهدي

لثام متى ما ان ذكرت قبيعهم
 و ددت لو انى عليهم عقب السد
 سوا بارض الهند ذو الفضل والندى
 و ذو الكحل والدىرام والقسط و اللد
 و ذو الشنف والخلخال والذابل الخطى
 و ذو الصارم البنار والفتر و العقد
 ياوبح روحى كم تصالى من الاذى
 و ياوبح نفسي كم تضاف الى القرد
 و ياوبح قلبي كم طوبت سبا سبا
 فقارا وكم اعيت بلا قعها جهدي
 خليلي مهلا ما ابى عليكما
 خلاصة نار قد تاج في كبدي
 خليلي انّ الهند اضفت حشاشتي
 و افت شبابي ثم مالت الى رشد
 خليلي مالي في الهند استقامة
 و ابن مواليد العراق من الهند
 خليلي هلا با العراق مررتما
 و اشدقتما اهل المذلة الملد
 الا بنى سباط ان هماكم
 حليف الندى و الجود و التف ذي العدد
 وحبد بارض الهند ليس له يد
 تساعدة ان شاء في الحل و العقد

V.

While at Dhaka (Dacca) in Eastern Bengal, Jawad Sabat
 drafted a letter in Arabic (given below) for Mir Ashraf 'Ali

—or as he calls him Amīr Ashraf ‘Alī al Husaynī, zamindar or proprietor of Pargana Baltakāl (Balda-khal)—to the Shia ‘Ulama of Iraq-i-Arab (Karbala, Nafaf, Mashhad, etc.). This document, which I discovered among the Sabatian MSS. of the Asiatic Society, recalls to our mind an almost forgotten controversy between the Shias and Sunnis of India, when the two sects of Muhammadans were busy discussing some of the points in their faith on which they differed. The history of the discussion is briefly this : Maulana Shah ‘Abdul-Aziz (1159-1236H = 1746-1823 A.D.) was the eldest son of Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi and like his father was a great scholar. Towards the close of the Mughul Government owing to the rise of the House of the Nawab-Vazir of Oudh, the influence of the Shias of India became very pronounced, and the tension between the Sunnis and Shias more than ever acute. At this stage Shah ‘Abdul Aziz, under the *tarikhī* name of Ghulum Halim wrote in the year 1200H (1785 A.D.) a book in Persian under the title of *Tuhfa-i-Isna-‘ashariya*, “Present of the Twelfth century,” in which he vigorously refuted the Shia doctrine. The work created a tremendous *furore* among the *isna-‘ashariya* sect (Shias, who believe in twelve Imams) and others. Owing to the long list of authorities cited, and having brought to bear rare scholarship on the discussion, the Shias became, for sometime, greatly distressed and dejected. “Is there no scholar who can write a reply to the *Tuhfa* ?” asked the King of Oudh. “No, but there is one person, who can write it but he won’t,” replied the Vazir “Who is he, and why will he not write ?” “He is Mulla ‘Abdul ‘Ali (Bahru’l-‘Ulum), and because he is a Sunni.” Such or nearly such was the state of Shia mind—full of anger and despair, when Sabat went to meet one of the Shia *reises* of the time. Sabat, who drafted the document, was himself accused of having a Shia leaning, but he denied the charge, and penned a beautifully significant verse in his defence. Born of a Sunni father and perhaps a Shia mother, the wild son of the desert was ever a contradiction, an enigma, to his compatriots and contemporaries. While holding the post of *Muhammadanī Qādi*, he goes over to Christianity. Finding his position untenable he gets baptized. While professing Christianity and translating the scriptures, he

whispers to the Muslims that he has no faith in the Bible. This eccentricity and shilly-shallying disposition on Sabat's part greatly jeopardised his position in society, and at the end cost his life. Strangely enough, this letter which he wrote for Mir Ashraf Ali of Dacca is now traced after more than a century, among a collection of Sabatian MSS. in the custody of a Shia gentleman at Lucknow.

Now to the letter.—It begins with the praise of God, his prophet, and his descendants. Mir Ashraf 'Ali introduces himself as a descendant of the *Regent ('Ali)*, sends his compliments to the Ulama of Iraq, and proceeds that a large number of Shias have besieged him with the request that their religious beliefs have been violently assailed by one Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, Dihlavi, to which the Shias find difficulty in writing a convincing reply. The Shias have become a butt of ridicule, as the author of "the *Tuhf-i-Isnashariya*" has brought to bear arguments based on law, tradition, logic, philosophy, reason, Quranik verses, and the prophet's hadith, the Imam's opinions, and those based on grammar, prosody, etc. He is therefore sending copies of the Tuhfa with one Maulavi Muhsin, and requests the dignitaries of the Shi'a faith in Iraq to refute the book by writing a new Tuhfa.

It is not known what was the result of this appeal to the scholars of Iraqi-i-Arab. But more than one book have since been written in India, in refutation of the *Tuhfa-i-Isnashariya*.

مكتوب كتبه عن لسان الامير اشرف علي الحسيني مولى بلنا كال
ساكن الداکه الى عامة علماء عراق العرب طالبا جوابا لمحنة الأنف عشرية
التي الفها المولوي عبد العزيز الدھلوي وكلانا في الداکه *

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل العهد وسيلة القرب اليه و ذريعة الوصول لديه
مالك يوم لا مالك و ملك ملوك المالك الذي اظهر بلطشه الخاص و العالم
نور النبوة و الامامة فجعلهما لفرق بين الغي و اليهى علامه و برز شوارع

الدين المتيين و أعلى اعلام الشرع بالقرآن العبين فدمر عامر الطالبيين و عمر اطلال المؤمنين حمدا لا يعد و لا يحصى و الشكر له علي ما استائف من فطرة الانسان فعلمه البيان و هداه طريق الكفر و الايمان بالعقل العصيين ينوره به عن الكيف و الاين ف قال عز من قائل و هديناه النجدين شakra لا يقىف له علي اقصى و الصلوات و السلام علي نبيه الامين و آله الفر الميامين ما غردت عنادل الحق علي اغصان الهدى * او رفضت بباب نفوس ارباب الزعير روضته العيوان الدنيا و بعد فيقول العبد الذليل احد اولاد الوصي الامير اشرف علي الذليل عامله ربها بلطفه الجلي انه قد اجتمع حولي المستضيقون من الشيعة و العارفين و قام العارفون و العاجزين اجتماعاً الضلن حول الريبيضة في الهند و ارتكموا على ارتکلام الابل على المارد يوم الورود حتى ان تکالماً کبیرهم و طلی صغيرهم و کلفونی مالم استطعه عما قد دهفهم قيامه و هالتم اعلامهم بان اكتب الى جمهور علماء العراق كتاباً ادمج فيه اظهار الاشتياق ومن ابراز ما يصلونه من الم الذل و تعلقهم (?) المذاق شرح ما سيجي شرحه و التجیئ نیابة عن جمهور هم اليهم * و ابى انموذجاً من اخراهم عليهم * فذا انا اقول لمصرة *

سلام الله ما ذكر القلاق
اخو هجر على اهل العراق
سلام لو يوصل كان مسکا
شذاء و سلسيل في المذاق
سلام لا لينفو شذاء
ولا يقف على اقصاء
سلام يخلوه السکران الخندریس
و يطنه المتهور حماء الوطیس
سلام يتزاود مددت الدھور
و يتضاعد عدة السین و الشہور
علي علماء الدين المتيين
و فقهاء الشرع الصویں
اساطیں قصور و سلطیں ممالک المجهول و المعلوم هدات الد ولیہ ذی
اللیل البھیں و سراج العوارج بالفکر السلیم حمات الثغور و کعام کل میوز و موردت

الذوابل حتى التغالب الصدور و بدور البدور جبران خيرة الانام قالعة
 قنوس الكفر و موثقه قلوس الاسلام عادمة النفاق و موثقه الوفاق ساداتنا
 و مواليتنا علماء العراق لازالت الوبية غرهم منشورة اعلام اعدائهم مكسورة أسمين
 هذا و آني لمختصر المقدمة وباسط النتيجة فيما زير سابقا و هو غير مخفى علي
 مجالسكم الشريفة و محافلكم العالية المنيفة أنه قد اُلف رجل من اهل
 السنة والجماعة في سلخ القرن الثاني عشر كتابا كثانيا للمعني كتابا للمعني
 يذكر فيه اصول مذهب الشيعة و تفروعهم و عجزهم عن اتقان مسائل النبوة
 و الامامة و تضرعهم و بث فيه انما ذكره امثالهم في الفقه و الحديث
 و شطراً مما اصابهم لذاك من الفطنة و الغنى و رد كلما ذكره بقياسات منطقية
 و دليل حكيمه و براهين عقلية و مقدمات فلسفية و ايات فرقانية و احاديث
 نبوية و اقوال اماميه و مسائل فقهية و تعاليل ضرفيه و تراكيب نحوية
 و ازاحيف عروضية و صنائع بيانيه و اخبار معاصرية فجاء بالاعجاز في
 الاختصار و ترك الالغاز بالاقتصار يعرف بالشاة عبد العزيز الدهلوبي و اشاعه
 فاشتعلت من نارة كوانين قلوب الشيعة و ادركتهم للمغالبة الشنية الفجيعة
 و عاد البحث قائما في كل مكان و الاستهراء ثأر في كل آن فلما عجز
 الجمهور عن المناizza و المعاشرة و ذل الغيور عن المحاسبة و المحافظة
 قام قائم الطعن بينهم - فتكدر زمانهم و مكانهم و كيفهم و اينهم فقال
 المستضعفون انتم شر مكانا و اضعف جندانا لله لقد ضبعنا اياما و خسرنا
 سينينا واعوا منا * بمنا بعكم و ندمتنا افادا تنا - و جئنا عباداتنا بمسائعتكم -

* لمعرفة

توليت من لا خير فيه فبلغت ما نكتت الهدي والعلم بالجهل العشى فلا خير في تلك النتيجة و الصبر

و قال العارفون للمستضعفين ار كنوا الى حسن الا عتقاد او التّهود الى غير هذه البلاد - فان الشيطان قد نفع بمرصادة - و اجري فرسه في مضماره فلعمر الله لن ينجو الامن نجعي - ولم يهف الا من هفي - ثم مال بعضهم الى العالمين - و قال الم تروا ماحل بالمستضعفين - من الوسوس - و الغيط و الشماس - و التضعضع و الانحصار من مشاهدة التحفة الجديدة و دلوج هذه الجادة المديدة *

فما و الذي جعل النبورة حجّة علي عدادة و الامامة اخرى ان لم تدر و جنهم ماحل بهم ليهسي جيدهم انصب من الفعل الماضي - و ليسعى اتقاهم ادهن من البياضي - فمالكم و الهدنة والا عراغن - و التعلل والاستمرار - فقال العالمون للعارفين اقيلون من كشف الغطا و مد الارجل فوق الوطأ - فان التقيدة واجبة و الصبر احرى و نبع الكلاب علي البدر وبالها و حمس السمك علي البحر خدالها *

فاذ قائم القائم يظهر الرشد من الغي - و يبيّن العرّ من الفي - و صار كلّ منهم في و لولا و لولوة حتى ان رغب بعضهم في الانعرف عن طريق الاسلاف - و مال الآخر الى نكث دين الاولين يتباينون بينهم الهر ولة فالسابقون اولذك هم المقربون * و قد اعادت رسائ هذه الديار لتعارير علمائها الصلات الوفرة * و الهبات المتکاثرة * للترغيب في القيام الى رتق ما خرق و ردم ما يبىث (?) فلم ينه احدهم بغير النطاطا الى جواب ولم يثبت من اوحدهم جواب ذو صواب لمصرة *

اعاود نفسي بالتسلي فتنسى و انشرة صبّري وقد خانني صبّري . فعلمت ان رفع هذه المعضلة اليكم اخرى و ان اقلامكم بتعريرها و انكم انتم بعقيقتها ادرى فارسلت بكتابي هذا اليكم للاطلاع علي ما حل

بناحينا من الشناق و النراع و احبيت بان ارسل التحفة المذكورة لكون
عدم السؤال شاهد علي ان وجود الجواب م الحال فارسلت بنسخة مع العالم
النحير مولوي محسن و نسخة اخرى فتكلا اثنان ممعيختان وها انا
منتظر لورود جوابكم رفع الله درجات جنابكم *

NOTES

1. GEOGRAPHICAL.

al-Jazira. Greek : Mesopotamia, country between two rivers, applied specially for the tract between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

جزيرة اقور بالقاف وهي التي بين دجلة و فرات مجاورة الشام
تشتمل على ديار مصر و ديار بكر سميت العجربة لأنها بين دجلة و الفرات
و هما يقبلان من بلاد الروم و يختران متسامتين حتى يلتقيا قرب البصرة
ثم يصبان في البحر - معجم البلدان ياقوت حموي *

العجربة اسم للبلاد الواقعة بين الفرات و دجلة المسماة عند
اليونان ميسوبا نامايا عند العرب نهرين وهو ترجمة اليوناني و يقال
جزيرة اقور - دائرة المعارف *

Georgia, or Jurj in Arabic. The Southern division of Caucasia comprises Georgia—east of Mesk range to Tiflis district.

جرج - بالضم بلدة من نواحي فارس - معجم البلدان
الساباط عند العرب سقيقة بين دارين من تحتها طريق نافذ — Sabat
و الجمع سوابيط و ساباطات - معجم البلدان *

Vizagapatam.—A northern coast District of Madras Presidency, along Bay of Bengal. Its head-quarters bears the same name (Arab writers, including Sabat, call the place Ishāqfatan).

Tellicherry.—Head-quarters of the Kattyam Taluq of Malabar District, Madras, situated in $11^{\circ} 45' N.$ and $75^{\circ} 29' E.$ on the Coast, 42 miles north of Calicutt.

Ma'aret, or Ma'aret-un-Numān, is probably the place, where Jawad Sabat was born. It is a town in North Syria on the route from Aleppo to Damascus, about 19 hours'

journey by mule caravans from Aleppo. It is the birth-place of the celebrated Arab poet Abu'l-Ala-al Ma'arri (973-1057). Mark Sykes in his "Dar-al-Islam" writes about the locality thus: The road from Damascus to Aleppo has seen nations rise and fall, vanish, revive and die out; many have trodden its dusty paths, and there are more to come." The whole country appeared to Sykes to be in a wonderfully flourishing condition. A Turkish Kaimakam of Ma'aret en-Nomun received Sykes. Perhaps Ibrahim Sabat held the same post. I am not, however, satisfied, if this was the *Maria*, the birth-place of Sabat.

Penang—An Island of about 100 sq. miles, lying north-west of Singapore.

Perim and Aden.—Since Sabat wrote, and before the great European War, the Island of Perim, and the fortified port of Aden, with its surrounding districts, have come under the independent possession of the British. Reclus writes: Since 1839, the English have been in possession of Aden, its best seaport, thus securing the profits of the whole trade of south-west Arabia without the trouble and responsibility of conquest. Several petty Sultans in the interior have doubtless preserved the title, rank, and outward show of independent princes; but having accepted pensions from the English they are in reality mere vassals of the British Empire.

Acheen or Achin.—Northern extremity of the Island of Sumatra. The nobles of Achin claim Arab descent. They are Muhammadians. The chief characteristic is their love of fighting; every man is a soldier and every village has its army. These were the people who killed *Sabat*.

2. BIOGRAPHICAL.

Ahmud Shirwani.—His pedigree is briefly noted in part III. He was Munshi under Mathew Lumsden, L.L.D., Professor of Arabic and Persian in the College of Fort William, and under others. Ahmad published three Arabic primers under the patronage of the College, namely,—*Nafahāt'ul-Yaman* in 1811, *al-'Ajabul-'Ujab* and *Hadaiqu'l-Āfrāh*, both in 1813; and edited for the College *Ikhwan'us-Safa* (a part of it only) in 1812, *Alf-Laila* in 1814 and 1818, *Ajaibu'l-Maqdūr*, History of Timur, in 1818, *Qamus*, in 1817, the *Qasida of Ibn-Zuhayr* with a commentary, in 1818. He is also the author of several other books. In chapter III of the *Nafahatul-Yaman*, Ahmad wrote under

the heading "A'ajubah" (the most wonderful) that in 1222 H. (1807 A.D.) he met an Arab by the name of Jawad Sabat, who since his apostasy from the Muhammadan to the Christian faith, had been known as Nathaniel Sabat. Ahmad found Sabat to be a wit, talking of wonderful and strange things. He reminded him of a certain character in the Maqamat of Hariri. He gives a list of Sabat's books, and extracts of his poems, which was very difficult to understand, and as hard as stone. At Lucknow, Ahmad Shirwani met the celebrated Maulana Fazli-Haq of Khayrabad, who challenged him to write off-hand an Arabic poem in a single sitting before the Nawab-Vazir and others. Ahmad, inspite of his Arab pretension, had hardly written 3 or 4 couplets with several scratches, but Maulana Fazli-Haq had, in the meantime, composed a full Qasida. I saw the latter with his son, the late Maulana Abdul-Haq, when he was the Head-Maulvi of the Calcutta Madrasah. Ahmad Shirwani was born at Hudayda, a port of the province of Yaman and died at Puna in 1256 H. (1840 A.D.). His brother was *Ibrahim Shirwani*. It is said that Ahmad was an Assistant of the famous *Nakhoda*, Shaykh Ghulam Husayn of Calcutta, and wrote for the Nakhoda Arabic letters to the people of Arabia. Ahmad Shirwani was a Shia.

Shaykh Ghulam Husayn, otherwise called Ghulam Husayn Saudagar, was a merchant-prince of Calcutta. His name appears in the Directories and Almanacs of Calcutta up to 1822 and after. His house-properties, now in the possession of others, are still pointed out in the Kalutolla side of Calcutta. For the education of his only son, 'Abdullah, he employed scholars from Arabia, Persia, England, etc. and left a large fortune for his maintenance. In reply to a man who asked Ghulam Husayn why he had not appointed a teacher to teach manners to his son, Ghulam Husayn replied indignantly that he would leave such a fortune for him that if he spent a *lak* of rupees a year, it would last for 120 years of his life. But Abdullah turned a vagrant, squandered his wealth, begged his bread, turned a tout and wrote petitions for people, and died a miserable death. The Maharaja of Burdwan used to pay him Rs. 30, monthly which he spent on the day he received the amount. So he used to get a rupee a day. A trick he adopted was to ask an anna for the postage of a letter he carried with him from those whom he met. Ghulam Husayn Saudagar brought Ahmad Shirwani, and employed him to write his Arabic letters. He was Ahmad's supporter and friend.

Amir or Mir Ashraf 'Ali.—He was a prominent noble man of Dacca. Bishop Heber went to see him, when the former went out on tour in 1824. His letter to the Ulama of Iraq-i-Arab is inserted in appendix V.

David Brown (1763–1812).—Reached Calcutta in 1786. Bengal Chaplain, Founder of the Calcutta Bible Society. His intimate friends were Henry Martyn, Claudius Buchanan, Thomas Thomason. Devoted with untiring zeal to the cause of Christian Missions. Provost, College of Fort William in Calcutta, established by Lord Wellesley.

Claudius Buchanan (1766–1815).—Bengal Chaplain, and Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William. Arrived in Calcutta 1797. He preached a sermon on the occasions of general thanksgiving for the success in Mysore War and the peace of Amiens. Regarding the above College his opinion was to enlighten the oriental world, give science, religion and pure morality to Asia, and to confirm in it the British dominion. The College of Fort William printed the first version of Persian and Hindustani languages of the gospels and issued from the College press. The College, however, declined to publish the Hindustani version of the Quran, prepared under the supervision of Dr. John Gilchrist.

Niel Benjamin Edmonstone.—Indian Civilian. Arrived in India in 1783, accompanied Wellesley to Madras. He translated and published the documents found in Tipu Sultan's palace, which formed the principal justification of the English attack upon him. He formed the plan to crush the Marathas. Chief Secretary and Member, Supreme Council.

Mathew Lumsden (1777–1835), Assistant Professor and afterwards (1808) professor of Persian and Arabic in the College of Fort William. Secretary, Calcutta Madrasah, 1812. Ahmad Shirwani (the Georgian) served under Lumsden as a reader and writer in the College.

Henry Martyn (1781–1812), Senior Wrangler, St. John's College, Cambridge, Chaplain Bengal. Arrived in Calcutta, April 1806, at Dinapore, in October of the same year, Cawnpore, end of 1809. Translated the New Testament in Hindustani and Persian. Went to Persia, Sabat worked under Martyn.

Charles Muller Martyn.—Justice of the peace for the town of Calcutta and Commissioner of Police, to whom Sabat refers as Amir (chief) of Calcutta Market. "Calcutta Directory and Almanac for 1810 (Appendix), and for other years."

John Palmer (1767–1836).—Military Secretary to Warren Hastings. Later, Sole Manager, Palmer and Co., styled the “Prince of the British Merchants.” His firm failed in 1830, his bust is in the Calcutta Town Hall.

Lieutenant-General *Sir John Nugent*, Baronet, Colonel of the 6th Foot, etc., etc., Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's Forces in India, 1812–1817, etc. (Sabat's Amir Leagen).

Nussim Ahia (Yahya), one of the Jew merchants of Calcutta, 1810–1817, etc.

Rev. Dr. C. G. Pfander D.D., was attached to the German Mission at Fort Shushy, on the confines of Georgia. Visited Teheran, Isfahan, Baghdad, and other places; acquired knowledge of Persian, in which he wrote the *Mizan 'ul Haq* and other books. In 1816, the Russian Government could not tolerate the presence of a foreign ecclesiastic. Pfander joined as German agent of Church Missionary Society in 1838 at Agra. He distributed the *Mizan* extensively, asking that the arguments should be considered and replied to, if possible. Many Muslim apologists responded. Maulavi Rahmatullah's famous controversy with Pfander at Agra was published in *al-Mabhasush-Sharif ji bayan 'in Naskhi wal Tahrif*—Pfander subsequently went to Turkey. The following persons were converted to Christianity by Dr. Pfander's preachings: Jani Ali B.A., Imadud-Din D.D., Imam Shah, Mian Sadiq, Yakub Ali, Maulavi Safdar Ali, Abdullah Athim.

Maulavi Rahmatullah of Karnal. An apologist of Muslim religion. Author of *Izalatu'l-Auham* and *Izharu'l-Haq*, the latter in Arabic, published in Cairo, 2 Volumes. He had a remarkable controversy at Agra with Dr. Pfander, Missionary and Christian apologist, in which the Doctor was defeated. Rahmatullah went to Mecca, established a Madrasah, and died there. (A Hindu writes: A learned Muhammadan of Karnal has written a large work of about 960 pages. He apparently means Maulavi Rahmatullah.)

Maulavi Dildar Ali of Lucknow, was born at village jais or Nasirabad. He is the first man that claimed to be a Mujtahid in India. Educated in India, Karbala, Mashhad. Born 1166 H, died, at Lucknow in 1235 H. He became the spiritual guide of the Kings of Oudh, and the Mujtahid of Lucknow. His office has become hereditary.

Sayyad Ali Hasan, a Mujtahid, and the father of Sayyad Muhammad Hadi, were sons of Dildar Ali. Hadi wrote

the *Kashful-Astar li Kasri Miftah-ul-Asrar* (The curtain drawn aside to show the Key of Mysteries shattered), in reply to Dr. Pfander's *Mizan*.

Haji Khalil Khan—11th August, 1802. “In cause of the afflicting intelligence, which his Excellency the most Noble, the Governor-General has received of the death of Hadjee Khuleel Khan, the Ambassador to the British Government, from his Majesty the King of Persia, His Excellency has been pleased to postpone the Levee.” Calcutta Gazette.

Maulavi Najmuddin Khan of Kakuri in Oudh, was Qadī-ul-Qudat at Calcutta, died 1229 H (1814 A.D.) Probably Sabat renounced christianity before him in 1812.

Sultan Abdul Hamid I. of Turkey reigned from 1773 to 1789.

Sultan Mahmud II. of Turkey reigned from 1808 to 1839.

Fath Ali Shah (son of Agha Muhammad's full brother, Husayn Quli Khan) lovingly called Bābā Khan King of Persia, 1797–1834.

Alexander I, Czar of Russia 1801–1825.

Ludovicus Marraccius was the author of “*Refutatio Alcorani, in Qua ad Mahumetanicae superstitionis radicem securis apponitur, et Mahumetus ipse glidis suo jugulatur. II partes. Batavii, 1698. 4°*” (Sabat refers to this book, *vide* Part I).

3. LINGUISTIC.

Arabic Dialects—Great attention is paid to accuracy of grammar and purity of diction throughout Arabia, yet something of a difference may be observed in the various districts. The purest Arabic, that which is, as nearly as possible, identical in the choice of words, and in its inflections with the language of the Koran, is spoken in Nejd, and the best again of that in the province of Sedeyr. Next in purity comes the Arabic of Shomer (Shammar). Throughout the Hejaz in general, the language extremely elegant, is not equally correct; in the *Hasa*, *Bahrayen*, and *Aman* (*Ammān*); it is decidedly influenced by the foreign element called *Nabathæan* that removes it still further from its original character. In *Yemen* (*Yaman*) as in other southern districts of the Peninsula, Arabic merges by insensible degrees into *Himaritic* or *African dialect* of *Hadramaut* and *Mahrah*. The Arabic spoken by the nomad or Bedeuin tribes, especially those of the north, is tolerably correct, but the pronunciation is often inexact, *From Encyclopedia Britannica*.

4. PHILOSOPHICAL.

Ishraqiyin, or Platonists, are those who are able to grasp the eternal and immutable, who set their affections on that which in each really exists. Applied chiefly in an ethical and religious or sufi-istic direction and sense.

Mash-Shayin. Those who hold the doctrine of substance and cause: The philosopher, indeed, must always continue to ask himself, what is the essence, the ultimate reality of things? Who or what is the Being that is manifest in all thinking thing? In this sense philosophy is still definable in Aristotle's phrase as *Ontology*, the science of being as being.

Ibaza, the followers of Abdullah Ibn Ibaz (ابن عاص), the founder of a schismatic sect of Islam. (*vide* Shahrestani's "al-Milawat Nahal"). The Ibazias or antinomians who trifle with Sophism.

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